THE COMMUNIST

Vol. XI JULY, 1932 No. 7

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Concretize and Strengthen the Anti-War Struggle

THE capitalist class of the United States finds itself at the present time in the process of "growing into" a new world war, into the war against the Soviet Union. Already at the XVII Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Molotov has pointed out that the peculiar characteristic of the present situation is the fact that the ruling classes, actively supported by the social-fascist leaders, are applying the tactic of "peacefully growing into" war. It is this peculiar tactic, followed by world capitalism under the screen of the most intense pacifist maneuvers, that we must concentrate on exposing before the masses in order to bring about a more determined and concrete struggle against the imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Up to this day none of the imperialist powers have made any war declarations. On the contrary, every one of the imperialist bandits is discussing "peace and disarmament"—the League of Nations, Japan, the United States, the "Labor and Socialist International," all of them claim to be engaged in the noble task of "preventing the war." At the same time, Japanese imperialism is waging open war against China and is building up conquered Manchuria as a base for immediate war against the Soviet Union.

France and Czecho-Slovakia are sending munitions to Japan, organizing and transporting Russian white guards to the Far East, and directing the carrying out of terroristic provocations inside the Soviet Union. German munition factories and shipping companies are fulfilling Japanese war orders while the fascist bands, led by finance capital, are preparing to draw Germany into the anti-Soviet front, which France is building up in the West by means of Poland, Rumania, etc. England continues to facilitate the conquest of Manchuria by Japan, seeking a further partitioning of China to forestall the rapid upsurge of the Chinese revolution and to weaken its imperialist rivals, chiefly the United States, but above all, pressing for war against the Soviet Union. The United States, whose contradictions with Japan have sharpened tremendously, persistently pushes Japan into war against the Soviet Union in the hope of thus weakening a dangerous imperialist rival (Japan) and its principal class antagonist—the Soviet Union.

The Second International, and its affiliated "Socialist" parties and

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the leaders of the reformist trade unions, are doing all in their power to paralyze the revolutionary anti-war struggles of the masses, seeking to dull the watchfulness of the masses and their self-activity by appeals "to exert pressure" for peace upon the imperialist bandit governments and the League of Nations and continuing to slander and incite against the Soviet Union under the cover of hypocritical appeals for "solidarity" *if* the Soviet Union is attacked.

War against the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution without war declarations, the most feverish diplomatic, political and military preparations for a new world war, for the war against the Soviet Union, under the screen of the most intense peace maneuvers and pacifist demagogy of the imperialists and their social-fascist agents—this is the method of world capitalism, the method of "peaceful growing into" war. To expose this new method, to show the American workers that every capitalist power—especially "our own"—is growing into the war against the Soviet Union day by day (its two-faced diplomacy, refusal to recognize the Soviet Union, shipment of war materials to the Far East, militarization of the home industries, militarization of the Caribbean, support of the Russian white guards, etc.), and to organize the workers to disrupt and paralyze this process of growing into the war—this is our chief task at the present time.

The greatest danger confronting us is the attitude that we will begin to act "in earnest" *if* and *when* the war against the Soviet Union comes. This is precisely the state of mind that the Second International, and the social-fascists generally are trying to create among the masses. Now, when it is no longer possible to hide from the masses the rapacious imperialist activities of Japan in China; when it is no longer possible to explain away (as the Socialist parties tried in the beginning) the immediate menace of war against the Soviet Union arising out of the war of the imperialists against China; now when ever-larger numbers of the toiling masses in all imperialist and colonial countries, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, are rising to the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union; now, the social-fascists have adopted a new tactic, the tactic of *if* and *when*. The latest demagogic anti-war appeal of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, issued from its meeting in Zurich on May 19 and 20, is built precisely upon this tactic.

What does this appeal say? It says that *if* the pressure of the Socialist parties upon their governments will fail to secure "respect for peace," *then* the Second International will appeal to the organized workers "themselves" to take action. It says that "*if*, in spite of everything, Soviet Russia should continue to be threatened," *then*

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the Second International will organize opposition to the production and shipment of war materials to Japan. And it says further that "*if* the Soviet Union is attacked," *then* "the workers will declare their solidarity with the Soviet Union in its defense."

Is it not true that this strategy of "*if* and *when*" is nothing else but a new social-fascist trick *to halt and impede* the further unfolding of the revolutionary anti-war struggles of the masses under Communist leadership? Is it also not true that this *if* and *when* strategy fits in organically with the new method of the world bourgeoisie to grow "peacefully," that is, without effective opposition from the masses, into a new world war, into the war against the Soviet Union? Of course, it is true. And this is what we must expose and prove to the masses. Furthermore, it is the influence of this new social-fascist trick that we are dealing with in our own midst when we confront the attitude that we *will* begin to act in earnest *when* the war against the Soviet Union "actually" breaks out. *Such an attitude is a plain surrender to social-fascism.* We must begin to *act today* and every day to combat effectively the growing into the war of Yankee imperialism. We must begin to concentrate and concretize the anti-war struggles of the masses in such a way as to actually impede and disrupt the war preparations of the Wall Street government and its social-fascist agents—the Socialist Party and the leadership of the American Federation of Labor.

DOWN WITH THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY SOPHISMS AND SOPHISTRIES

In his famous instructions to the delegation at the Hague Conference, Lenin warns us to be on guard against the "sophisms and sophistries" with which the imperialists and their agents are preparing war. Lenin said:

> "Perhaps these sophisms form the chief medium for involving the masses in war, the chief weapons of the bourgeois press, and the most important circumstance in explanation of our powerlessness against war is the fact that we either fail to shatter these sophistries *before it is too late*, or we damage our own cause still further by cheap, boastful, and entirely empty phrases: 'we shall not permit any war,' 'we realize the criminal nature of war,' and so forth, in the spirit of the Basle manifesto of 1912."

Beware of the sophisms and sophistries of the imperialists and their social-fascist agents.

The present war situation, and the new cycle of wars and revolutions that we are now approaching, has already produced a whole flock of such sophisms and sophistries. One of them is that by

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arousing the resentment of the toiling masses of the United States against the brigandage and murderous rapaciousness of the Japanese imperialist war against China our Party is "aggravating" the imperialist rivalries between America and Japan and is thus becoming guilty of "inciting" a Yankee imperialist war against Japan. This "charge" against our Party, originally made by the leaders of the Socialist Party and by some "liberal" bourgeois magazines, was at once picked up by the Lovestone renegades and the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites who, the same as the Second International, promise to come to the defense of the Soviet Union *if* and *when* the war breaks out, meanwhile doing all in their power to help world imperialism to "grow peacefully" into the war.

Here we are dealing with a typical counter-revolutionary sophism that Lenin warned us against in his instructions to the Hague delegation. It looks like a logical argument but in reality it is a swindle to deceive the masses, to prevent them from fighting the war *concretely*, to confine them to merely condemning the war, to empty moralizing about it, instead of disrupting it in a practical and effective way. In fact, this so-called charge against our Party is nothing else but a liberal, pacifist, social-fascist and communist-renegade justification of the present war policies of the Yankee imperialist government.

This "charge" against our Party that it is "inciting" Yankee imperialism to make war upon Japan is obviously proceeding from the assumption that our policy of mobilizing the resentment of the toiling masses against the ravages of the Japanese imperialist war in China *leaves Yankee imperialism out of the picture* and that our Party is thus abandoning the struggle against "its own" imperialism. The latter is especially the "argument" of the Lovestone-Cannon renegades and counter-revolutionists. But nothing is further from the truth than such an assumption. By arousing and organizing the resentment of the toiling masses of the United States against the Japanese imperialist war in China, by exposing the virtual support given by American imperialism to the Japanese seizure and conquest of Manchuria, which has been transformed into a base for immediate war against the Soviet Union, by showing that American imperialism continues to push (and help) Japan to make war upon the Soviet Union notwithstanding the sharpening contradictions between American and Japanese imperialism, the Party has adopted the only correct road towards organizing the revolutionary struggle of the masses against the Japanese imperialist war in China, for the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union, and against the method of the American bourgeoisie to "grow peacefully into" the new world war—the war against the Soviet

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Union. Not enough has been done as yet to carry this policy out.

The Socialist Party and the Lovestone-Cannon renegades like to moralize about war "in general." Especially the renegades from Communism have taken the Leninist principle of struggle against "our own" imperialism and have destroyed all its concrete and living content, transforming it into an empty shell which they use to cover up their own unwillingness to fight against this *particular* and *actual* imperialist war—the Japanese imperialist war against China—*out of which* "our own" imperialism, Yankee imperialism, *is growing into* the new world war—the war against the Soviet Union.

Is it not clear that in order to arouse the American toiling masses to struggle against the present war policies of American imperialism it is necessary to arouse the masses to the fact that there is an imperialist war going on against China, that the Japanese troops have invaded Manchuria and Shanghai not for their health, but that they are carrying on there a war of imperialist robbery and plunder and murder? Is it also not clear that by arousing the American toiling masses to an understanding of the imperialist nature of the Japanese war against China we enable ourselves to organize more easily the American toiling masses to struggle against the concrete war aims and activities of *Yankee* imperialism? All this is quite clear. Therefore the social-fascists and the renegades from Communism, who are following the strategy of *if* and *when*, must undertake to muddle things up, to confuse the masses with counter-revolutionary sophistries, to impede the daily revolutionary struggle against the war under Communist leadership so that "our own" imperialism can "peacefully grow into" the new world war—the war against the Soviet Union.

The anti-war policies of our Party are cutting straight across the war policies of American imperialism. American imperialism does not aim to liquidate the Japanese imperialist war against China, nor does it aim to secure the national integrity and independence of China. American imperialism seeks to utilize the Japanese war against China in order to develop it (the present war) into a war against the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution—the revolution of the workers and peasants under Communist leadership which alone will secure the unification and national independence of China. The imperialist contradictions between the United States and Japan, which have become greatly sharpened in connection with the Japanese invasion of Shanghai, do not prevent the United States from trying to push Japan into war against the Soviet Union in the hope that such a war will weaken its dangerous imperialist rival—Japan, and its principal class antagonist—the Soviet Union. It is opportunism to assert that the contradictions between the United States

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and Japan (which are very deep and which sooner or later must lead to war between them if this war will not be forestalled by revolution) are weakening in any serious way the danger of Japanese intervention against the Soviet Union.

What are the aims of the anti-war policies of our Party? To mobilize resistance to the Japanese imperialist war against China, to hinder by all possible means the further unfolding of the Japanese murderous attacks upon China and in connection with this to hamper, hinder, and postpone the development and transformation of the present war into a war against the Soviet Union, a world war. Does not this policy of our Party cut straight across the war policies of American imperialism? Of course, it does. Furthermore, only by mobilizing the widest masses for this policy, and in the first place the proletariat of the strategic and basic industries, will we create the prerequisites for the rapid transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, should the revolutionary anti-war struggle fail to postpone the outbreak of the new world war, the war against the Soviet Union.

The social-fascists are opposed to our policy for the very good reason that their main aim at the present time is *to prevent revolutionary mass action* against the war. Thomas, Hillquit, Green, Muste and Company are now even ready to condemn the "aggression" of the Japanese (at the same time solidarizing themselves with the Socialist Party of Japan which supports the imperialist war in the name of "Socialism"), and to praise faintly the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union, but—and here is the crux of the situation—only let the masses abstain from hindering, interfering with and obstructing the Japanese war against China and its growing over into a war against the Soviet Union. Substantially, this is also the position of the Lovestone and Cannon renegades from Communism, who are distorting even Lenin to suit their counter-revolutionary purpose. Trotsky never tires of "promising" to be in the front ranks of defence of the Soviet Union *when* the war will break out, meanwhile he deprecates and minimizes the menace of Japanese intervention and continues to supply "ideological" ammunition to the organizers of intervention. The right-wing renegades—Brandler, Lovestone and Company—also swear by the defence of the Soviet Union, promising all kinds of support, at the same time attacking the policies of the Comintern and its affiliated Parties that are combatting the existing war and its growing over into intervention and world war. Thus the method of the world bourgeoisie to "grow peacefully" into war receives its support from the social-fascists and the renegades from Communism.

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WE MUST GET OUT OF THE OLD GROOVE

The actual carrying out of the Party's anti-war policies still leaves very much to be desired. In this field of mass work, the central field of our activity, the same as in other fields, we are still largely bound by the old routine which has accumulated in the years of partial stabilization and from which we have not yet freed ourselves even in the years of the economic crisis. With this routine we must make an end. We must undertake to reorganize our work from top to bottom in accord with the new conditions of struggle arising out of the fact that we are approaching a new cycle of wars and revolutions.

We must try to gain a clear realization of the fact that the period of capitalist stabilization—the relative, decaying, precarious stabilization of capitalism, has come to an end and that this means the approach of a new cycle of imperialist wars and revolutions. Consequently, to the method of the bourgeoisie to "grow into" a new world war the working class must counterpose the unfolding of the revolutionary struggle all along the line, the preparation of revolution. The methods of preparing the revolution will differ, of course, in the imperialist country which is waging the war (Japan) from the semi-colonial country which is the subject of attack (China). It will also differ in those countries which are already at war from those that are only being drawn into it or are in danger of being drawn into it in one form or another. The methods of preparing the revolution will also differ depending upon the degree of revolutionary maturity of the objective situation and the subjective factors in various countries. But the orientation upon the preparation of revolution in reply to the orientation of the bourgeoisie to grow into war—this orientation must be taken everywhere.

It is in this light that we must see the need of carrying out that essential change in our approach to and methods of mass work that is called for by the resolution of the XIV Plenum of our Central Committee. Especially must we affect this change in our anti-war mass work which is so vital and decisive in the present situation, and, of course, any improvement in this field of work would immediately reflect itself in all other fields (election struggle, unemployment work, strike struggles, Negro work, etc.) and vice versa.

While certain progress can be recorded in the mobilization of the masses for general anti-war demonstrations, the fact remains that the basic and decisive sections of the American proletariat have not yet been mobilized for the daily struggle against the war. The working class of the large factories in the basic industries has hardly

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been reached even with our anti-war agitation, let alone with our organization work. There is not as yet in existence a single anti-war committee elected by the workers in a large factory. With this state of affairs, which results primarily from our weak and poor factory work, how can we expect to really mobilize the decisive sections of the American proletariat against the war and to prepare the prerequisites for the rapid transformation of the imperialist war into civil war? With such weak contacts as we have today with the large factories in the basic industries, how can we expect to organize effective interference with the production and shipment of munitions and other war materials from the United States against China and the Soviet Union that is taking place daily? And this is our most important task in the development of the anti-war struggle at the present time. Is it not obvious, therefore, that we cannot tolerate a moment's delay or the slightest hesitation in putting into effect the decisions of the Fourteenth Plenum to turn to the large factories in the basic industries, to establish solid personal ties with the workers in those factories, to organize and crystalize the slightest dissatisfaction of the workers, their "smallest" grievances, into appropriate forms of organization and struggle. We must not and cannot take too much time in the carrying out of the essential change called for by the Communist International and the Fourteenth Plenum.

Our main difficulty is not so much (this also) a failure to see what is to be done as the routine, leisurely, formalistic and bureaucratic manner in which we undertake to carry through the correct steps. We need more of the spirit of the Bolshevik shock brigade, of the spirit of the Chinese and Japanese Communists, the enthusiasm, self-sacrifice, tenacity, persistence and faith in our ability to fuse and organize the millions (not only the hundreds and thousands) into a powerful revolutionary army against capitalism.

It took us much too long to begin to awaken the workers—some of them—to be vigilant and alert to the production of munitions of war, to the reorganization of various factories for war purposes, to the shipment of war materials to the Far East and to the vital need of reporting such events to our press. Now an important beginning has been made in this direction, but only a slight beginning. We must organize and increase manifold the activities of the worker correspondents along these lines.

But is that all? Of course, not. Our immediate practical task is to organize the workers in those enterprises that are engaged in the production and transportation of munitions and other war materials for various anti-war actions to interfere with and disrupt the shipment of munitions, to resist the growing into war of Ameri-

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can imperialism, and to mobilize the masses of these enterprises for the fight against the general offensive of the capitalists. To this kind of activities we must give our main concentration, widening the struggles in these strategic enterprises, drawing in the workers of the other enterprises and the unemployed into various solidarity actions and demonstrations of a general character.

And, again, the fulfillment of this task cannot be accomplished with the old routine methods of work. Here we require, first of all, a full turn to the large factories on the part of each Party unit, especially in the concentration districts and industries, the reinforcement of such points with competent leading forces, constant check-up and speedy removal from positions of responsibility of such elements as prove unable to follow out in practice the Party line and policy. And all this must be carried out on the basis of unfolding to the maximum the initiative and self-activity of the masses as well as of the Party membership and the Party units. We must raise and develop the initiative of the masses in such a way that, wherever the opportunity presents itself, the workers will go ahead with the election of anti-war committees and other committees of action utilizing every concrete situation to disorganize the economic and fascist offensive of the bourgeosie and its growing into war.

This struggle against the bourgeosie growing into war must be linked up very closely with a *general intensification* of all the economic and political struggles of the masses against the capitalists. This means much more determined efforts than heretofore for the systematic unfolding of the economic struggles of the workers in the factories making the resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the strike struggles in the United States a living reality in our every day activity (correct methods of mass work, Bolshevik and not sectarian approach to the masses, etc.). With this must go greater concentration on the building of the revolutionary unions and of the revolutionary oppositions in the A. F. of L. centering the work in the factories and large plants. At the same time, a determined effort must be made to overcome the existing lagging of the unemployed struggles, especially the fight for unemployment insurance, which is the central demand in our election struggle. In this field of work we must eliminate two serious weaknesses which have proved most harmful for the *sustained* development of the unemployed struggles and their growing over to higher political levels. One weakness is the inability to hold on to a developing struggle for partial demands (anti-eviction fights, relief for school children, protests against the cutting off of immediate relief, etc.) and to mobilize solidarity actions in support of these struggles thus drawing in wider masses and crystallizing wider organization. The second weakness

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is a certain one-sidedness (shown also in other fields of work) which results in our permitting such partial struggles to "peter out" without raising them to the level of organized struggle for unemployment insurance or else the carrying on of the fight for unemployment insurance in a sectarian way, mainly agitationally, that is, not based upon and not growing out of the partial and daily struggles for the needs of the unemployed. No delay can be tolerated in the overcoming of these serious weaknesses in order to liquidate quickly the dangerous lagging of our unemployed work.

The struggle against the political reaction of the bourgeoisie, against the fascisation of bourgeoise rule, and for workers' rights, must be given considerably more attention than heretofore. *Greater vigilance is necessary* as is shown by the "unexpected" passage of the Dies Bill by the House. Also greater clarity is necessary in our exposure of the fascization of the rule of the capitalists, guarding against the liberal and social-democratic counterposing of bourgeois democracy to fascism, showing concretely how fascism grows organically out of bourgeois democracy (as pointed out by the Eleventh Plenum of E. C. C. I.) and proving to the masses that the Socialist Party—the Thomases, Hillquits, Hoans, etc.—are paving the way for fascism by their glorification of the existing bourgeois democracy, by "showing" it as something principally different from fascism, by slanderously treating fascism and Bolshevism as the same thing, and by the American editions of the "lesser evil" (Thomas, Muste, etc.). Above all must we organize the masses to defend themselves from the concrete and specific attacks of the bourgeois reaction, making a serious start in the organization of Worker's Defense Corps, and initiating mass movements for workers' rights.

Infinitely more attention must be paid to development of the mass struggles for Negro rights. Our main weakness here still remains the insufficient following out of the policy of unfolding daily struggles against Negro discrimination and oppression, especially against lynchings, and the drawing of white workers together with the Negroes into the fight. And in close connection with this decisive activity we must broadly unfold the full Negro program of the Party exposing the social-fascists (Thomas' opposition to self-determination and his threat of "race riots") and the Negro reformists.

All the above revolutionary mass activities for the unfolding and sharpening of the struggle against American capitalism all along the line must be linked up with and find their concentrated expression in the election struggles. The National Nominating Convention, while showing increasing sympathy of the masses for the Party,

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exposed insufficient organization from below, insufficient broadening of the organized united front and its activization for the carrying out of the election struggle under the Party's leadership. This vital weakness must be corrected as as we go along combatting the counter-revolutionary Trotzky-Cannon "ultra-left" opportunism of "no united front" in the election struggle and the right opportunist tendencies of hiding the Party's face and its leading role in this struggle. We must also record that our agitation still insufficiently reacts to the daily election campaign machinations of the bourgeois and social-fascist parties and to their demagogy and various "solutions" of the crisis.

The more successful we will be in developing the daily struggles of the masses, which open up the perspective of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the easier it will be to resist the efforts of the bourgeosie to find a capitalist way out of the crisis by means of war. The apologists of American capitalism undertake to mask the real nature of the capitalist solution of the crisis (attacks upon the workers standards and war) by presenting these "solutions" as efforts at "stabilization," "expansion of foreign trade," "security of employment," etc. The Lovestone renegades pick up this tune of the apologists of capitalism and are attempting to find for it a "Marxian" foundation. We must more systematically expose the various capitalist "solutions" of the crisis showing their essence as further brutal attacks upon the standards of the masses and the *growing into* a new world war, the war against the Soviet Union. As against these "solutions" of the capitalists, the social-fascists and their renegade assistants, we must explain to the masses the revolutionary way out of the crisis—the way of revolutionary mass struggle, the way of the October revolution. We must persistently show up the bourgeois slogan that war will feed the unemployed by showing that war may give bread to individuals but to the millions it brings death, misery and destruction. Our slogan must be: Food to the unemployed can be gotten only on the road of revolutionary struggle, on the road of the proletarian revolution.

Forward to the struggle against the capitalist offensive. Forward to the building of the united front from below in the daily struggles of the masses. Forward to the fight against the bourgeois growing into the new world war.

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Place the Party on a War Footing

By EARL BROWDER

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AT DISTRICT CONVENTION, DISTRICT NO. 2, JUNE 11-12, 1932

IT IS necessary to begin the consideration of *all* phases of the work of our Party by referring to the international situation and the imminence of the war danger. It is still quite clear that the working class is not yet aroused to the fact that the new imperialist war has begun and that it is a question of a very short time before it drags the entire world into the field of active participation in this war. And what is true of the working class is also to a certain degree of our Party.

There can be no question that our Party, its membership, its leading organs, do not yet realize that they are functioning on the eve of war, that we are already entering into a new period in which our Party as the vanguard of the working class, will be called upon to solve the most tremendous tasks. It is clear that the Party does not yet understand this fact because when the Party understands this fact, we will make a much more decisive change in the entire life of our Party from top to bottom.

We are still functioning with an atmosphere of peace time. The tempo of our work is not in the slightest degree adjusted to the tasks of war. We are moving as leisurely, as carelessly, as if we had an indefinite period of time before us to prepare for decisive class battles. It is necessary that this convention shall be an instrument for bringing about a change in this respect throughout District 2. It is certainly impossible for us to mobilize the working class for struggle aganst imperialist war when our Party itself does not realize the imminence of this war and the tasks that it places upon us. It is only necessary to point out, in order to prove completely the correctness of this statement, how weak have been our actions in mobilizing the workers even for the most elementary protest demonstrations against Japanese imperialism which is already carrying on the war and has great armies mobilized within a few miles of the borders of the Soviet Union.

When we face such a situation as this and see such a weak response from our Party, then we must awaken to the seriousness of the problem that this poses for us. It is a fact that a tremendous

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change must be brought into the Party with respect to the struggle against the war. We have got to so rouse the masses of workers to the meaning of the war danger that it will be possible for us not only to bring masses in the street in demonstrations, but to concentrate masses of workers specifically against specific shipments of munitions to Japan and develop these actions further to the actual stopping of munition shipments. The forces for such actions exist. But these actions do not materialize because our Party is not doing its duty. And this is the first point that we must emphasize, which must color our work in every other field. To the overcoming of this weakness, every other phase of our work must be subordinated, made to contribute to the bringing forth of a real bolshevik policy in action in the struggle against the war danger.

The problems of the struggle for the daily needs of the workers are intimately bound up with the struggle against war. We must guard against that error, however, which says that the development of the everyday struggle constitutes the struggle against war. The everyday struggle for the immediate needs of the workers is the foundation for the struggle against the war, but if the struggle against war is confined only to the daily needs of the workers, to the exclusion of specific actions on direct questions of the war, such as the struggle to stop the shipment of ammunitions, the demonstrations against Japanese consulates, etc., then we are falling into the most dangerous sort of opportunism. We must very sharply combat any tendency within the movement to belittle the importance of those special actions against war by putting up against it, as opposed to it, the development of the struggles for the daily needs of the workers, the economic struggles and the immediate struggle against the police terror, etc. Not the one against the other, but the development of *all* phases of the struggle. In the struggle for the immediate needs of the workers we must show the workers the intimate connection of the struggle with the mass revolutionary fight against the preparations for war and against the carrying out of the war, such actions as against munition shipments. Precisely one of the acute points of our work is the development of these close interconnections of these phases of struggle so that the workers can understand and feel that this is correct.

CRISIS IS REACHING NEW LOW STAGE

The main driving force which is mercilessly dragging country after country into the orbit of war is precisely the same deepening and sharpening of the economic crisis which is multiplying the daily misery of the toilers throughout the United States as well as throughout the whole world.

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The crisis has by no means yet reached its bottom. In fact in the weeks immediately preceding this convention we have seen the sharpest intensification of the crisis that has yet been seen since it began almost three years ago. A very sharp drop in industrial production and business activity in the past month is in itself only a prelude to a new and bigger crash which is coming in the course of this summer. The financial crisis which was temporarily halted, or delayed in its development, by the extraordinary measures that were taken by finance capital is again coming to a new head. And due to the very measures that were taken to limit the sharpness of this financial crisis, it is now about to break forth with new force and intensity. Quite probably in the month of July or August we will have such a storm of bankruptcies throughout the United States as has not been dreamed of yet, with the resulting intensification of chaos in industry, commerce. All of the accumulation of the misery of the masses is going to be multiplied in the next months.

Together with the multiplication of mass misery, comes the sharp speeding of the development of war which is already generally accepted as the only way out by the leading circles of capitalism. In this situation of the rapidly growing misery and starvation of the masses and the extreme sharpening of the war danger, it is quite clear that our Party is unprepared for its tremendous tasks. Our Party has not yet learned how to perform these tasks. Our Party is not yet even thinking in terms of the tasks that face us. The task of our Party is to learn so to work that it can mobilize and organize around the slogans expressing our revolutionary program, not tens of thousands of workers, but millions of workers, and to conduct this mass mobilization in such a way as to sink the roots of the Party among the masses and organizationally guarantee that this leadership of ours over the masses will be something strong and permanent and not subject to the fluctuation of the daily winds that blow.

CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN WORDS AND DEEDS

How is this change to be brought about in the work of our Party, the change that will make our Party capable of carrying through this work? Our Central Committee resolution speaks of the establishment of close personal contact with the workers. Is that the basis of our method of work today? I think there is now no one that does not realize that precisely the absence of close personal contact of the Party, of its members with masses of non-Party workers—just this absence of personal contact is the main weakness of our Party's work today and the source of most of the

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mistakes in the Party's work. This is precisely one of the outstanding examples of the continued influence within the Communist Party of the old opportunist social-democratic methods of work. We must understand that our struggle to change our methods of work is not a technical question, but is a political question, it is a political struggle, it is the struggle for the bolshevization of our Party, the struggle for the liquidation of social-democratic remnants.

Let us examine this problem from several angles. Let us understand something of the depth of this problem so that we will not take it in a formal, vulgar way. Another expression of this lack of contact with the masses, another angle to it is the difference between words and deeds, which is a characteristic feature of social-democratic ideas and methods. An essential feature of making a Bolshevik Party is to close the gap between words and deeds. Our approach to the masses is too much in the realm of words only.

All of our agitation and propaganda will be effective only to the degree to which it is bound up closely and intimately with the elements of actions of the masses, so that there exists no longer this deep chasm between what we say and what we do. And the establishment of close personal contact with the masses is brought about primarily *through the development of mass action*, so that our Party and its members appear before the masses as leader and organizer. We must close the gap between words and deeds, as the first condition for establishing those contacts with the masses which will really make our Party the Bolshevik vanguard of the workers. How is it possible to win the working class away from its reformist, social fascist leadership unless we cleanse our Party of all the remnants of social democracy, its ideas and methods? It is impossible. And this struggle to transform our Party is an essential, indispensable part of the struggle against social fascism, of the struggle to win the majority of the working class. It is impossible for our Party to move forward one step, except upon the basis of clarification, and cleansing the Party itself from within.

STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC REMNANTS

This question of bolshevizing our Party, driving out the influence of social fascism, this is the question that was raised by the famous letter of Comrade Stalin, on the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the struggle on the ideological front. The struggle to make the Party conscious of its own history is a question of decisive importance to the Party; linked up with it is every question of our program, every question of the historical development of this program of the past.

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This question that was raised by Comrade Stalin is a thousand times more sharp and acute for us, because our Party, in spite of the fact that it has quite a long history, is a Party largely composed of workers who as yet know very little about the history of the Party. A majority of the members of our Party have come to us in the years 1930-31-32 less than 3 years in our movement. What have we done to consolidate this mass of new members, to school them in the history of bolshevism, the understanding of bolshevik principles and tactics, building of the Communist Party and the leadership of class battles? By far not enough. We have made the barest beginnings and unless we strengthen the bolshevization of our Party, we will not be able to perform the tasks that this period throws upon us.

Especially sharp are the weaknesses, shortcomings of our Party in its basic orientation towards the decisive sections of the working class—expressed in our penetration of shops, factories, mines and mills. The essential feature of a bolshevik Party is that it roots itself in the decisive sections of the working class and only thereby is it able to be the practical leader and organizer, the vanguard of the working class in its struggles. A characteristic feature of a social democracy is that it bases itself upon the parasitic elements, the aristocratic elements, the elements of labor aristocracy, the bureaucratic apparatus in the lower organs of the government, middle class elements, etc. At the same time it keeps the decisive sections of the working class passive, politically unorganized, politically expressionless. But how much difference is there really between our forms of organization and the old social democratic form? To what extent have we seriously turned our heads to developing this specific bolshevik form of Party organization rooted in the shops? We must say that we have carried through this task in the most formal, lifeless, unenthusiastic way. We have been quite ready to surrender to every difficulty that we found along the road and we used these difficulties as an excuse for not carrying through penetration of the shops.

WHICH IS THE "PARTY"—OFFICE OR NUCLEUS?

Listening to much of the discussion about overcoming bureaucratic methods I have noted a widespread opinion that if a Party or trade union functionary speaks in a loud sharp tone, this is bureaucratic, but if he speaks genty and softly then this is a good non-bureaucratic approach. As for myself I am all for the soft voice as opposed to harsh speaking, but I object to this being put forward as the essence of the question of bureaucracy. In fact some of the

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worst bureaucrats that I have bumped into in my life were the softest speakers. I am quite sure that when the energies of our Party really become released from below and the members begin to surge forward to the masses, we will then experience a bit of harsh speaking in the struggle against bureaucratic methods of work, in the struggle against every form of opportunism. The question of the tone of voice is not the essence of bureaucratic methods. It is possible for us to more definitely fix just what we are fighting against. I think that it will help to understand this a little if we point out the characteristic features of all manifestations of bureaucracy, *that it looks upon the office, the bureau, as the all-important place.* That is, that aside from the Party office, there is no Party; to go to the Party means to go to the Party office; to be out of the office means to be out of contact with the Party. This conception of the office as the Party, this is the essential characteristic feature of bureaucracy in every one of its manifestations, and precisely this is clearly, therefore, the thing that hampers us in pushing the Party in the shops and in the neighborhoods.

Because we have this idea that everything has to come out of the office this is the reason why our units, both in the neighborhoods and the shops, have so little initiative of their own, have so little inner life. They don't see their units and the work in the shop as being the *supreme* expression of the Party. The office is merely an incidental connecting apparatus, to bind together the various living bodies which are the Party. This conception of the office as the Party leads to the neglect of all the really vital, living features of Party work and stunts the development of the Party, hampers the growth of connections among the masses and it is this that we have to fight against.

This has got to be changed. And we have got to develop bolshevik initiative, bolshevik organization down below. The units of the Party must begin to function, to take charge of their own problems and contribute to the functioning and direction of the next body above them. And in the section we have got to crystallize the real political collective leadership that stands on its own feet, that doesn't have to wait until a circular letter comes from above before it knows what to do, that is able to take bolshevik initiative and bolshevik responsibility for the work in its section.

Such bolshevik initiative we must have. And this cannot be created from above. This can only be created from below, from the membership of the Party, by the membership of the Party putting forward its best material into the leadership of the units and the sections and especially workers from the shops. In the preliminary organization of this district convention, the comrades have

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already spoken from the floor about the weakness of this convention, the weak representation of workers from the shops and from the trade union work appearing as the leaders of our Party. This is quite true. Whatever may be the merits of any particular issue that has been raised it is generally true in the Party that we have an artificial division between the Party work and the trade union work and even a division between the trade union work and the unemployed work. Such an attitude pictures our work as a water-tight compartments, with the natural result that precisely those elements best qualified to give a Bolshevik character to the Party leadership are very often shunted to one side in the Party committees. In their places comes forward the perfect functionary, the one who never does anything except go from one inner Party meeting to another inner Party meeting.

I do not speak against any particular individuals. I speak against the system and the approach to our work that we have had in the past, that takes the very best proletarian material we have and in the course of a few months his work in our apparatus, transforms him into a good bureaucrat. I think that most of the comrades suffer from these bureaucratic methods of work. We cannot blame these comrades, we have to blame the system of work of our Party that distorts the work, spoils the best proletarian comrades that we have. We must, therefore conceive the struggle against bureaucracy precisely in these terms of changing our methods and developing the collective work and not in the disintegration of our cadres into warring individuals each one of which is trying to prove the other as a worse bureaucrat than he is. This tendency I have noted around District 2. The tendency to try to establish a graduated scale of bureaucrats, number one is 99% bureaucrat; number two is 87% bureaucrat, the third is 55% bureaucrat and so on down the line. This is an indoor sport which does not bring forward political or organizational problems facing the Party and what we have to understand is that we find certain old methods of work that have got to be driven out of our movement (and we are not interested in establishing certain morale judgment about the individual).

The turning of the attention of the Party towards the real problems of the class struggle, away from the sterile routine of offices, away from the bureaucratic methods and towards the real realities, the problems of the masses and their struggle for bread—this is the essence of the change we have to make and in making this change we will also dissolve a lot of wrong conceptions and distorted ideas that influence the work of the Party. We will break through and dissolve the sectarian practices that we have developed around the very important, vital, significant slogan of the united front, break

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down these sectarian methods whereby we have prevented the development of the real united front connection with the masses, together with our Party.

Occasionally, we find the attempt to theorize these weaknesses and justify them. We have to conduct an unrelenting struggle against every attempt to justify our weaknesses. The moment anyone begins to tell us that, "Yes, this may be bad, but it is inevitable; you cannot do anything about it," such an attitude is a danger signal and we have to mobilize all the forces of the Party against any such ideas and begin to press upon it and liquidate it. Especially does this refer to shop work. There are plenty of difficulties in shop work. We must recognize these difficulties in order to overcome them, but we cannot allow the enumeration of these difficulties to slow down or halt in any way the constant pressing for the real development of shop activity and the building of the shop units, and we must begin concretely to discuss all these difficulties for the purpose of overcoming them. I think that the delegates here can contribute one hundred times more to this than I can, if when they speak in this discussion, everyone who has had any experience in conducting any Party work in the shop, or trade union work in the shop or work of connecting up shops with the unemployed, should speak concretely about these problems here in this convention. This is the best contribution you can make to a Communist Party convention and if you have no experience of this kind to speak about, perhaps you had better be silent and let someone else have double time who can speak about the shop.

These comrades are the builders of the Party. Nobody else. Nobody can build the Party by routine inner Party work. The only way the Party can be built is by the conduct of this work in the shops, in the industries and by building trade unions, in building the unemployed councils.

BUILDING NEW CADRES

We must have especially clarification in the interconnection of the various phases of our work. We must have a clear understanding of the Party as the leader, the organizer, the responsible organization for everything and every organization. And then we must understand that the mass organizations, even which the Party directs and gives leadership to, have to coordinate their work with one another, and have to really develop a movement that includes all of our organizations. There should not be allowed to grow up a Chinese wall between one phase of the work and another. We must establish that the task of the Party in these mass organizations is also to

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activize and bring forward non-Party workers into leading positions and crystallize them in leading committees without mechanical Party control of Party majorities in the committees of these mass organizations.

The function of the Party is to lead, but this can only be done if through this leadership, we create large cadres of non-Party workers as leaders. And we haven't given serious attention to this yet. For all of the conferences we call, in mass organizations, no matter how small the proportion of Party members in these organizations, the Party member is usually elected as a delegate to our conference. Is this because he is such an unchallenged leader of the non-Party masses? No, it is because he didn't understand that his first duty is to develop some non-Party worker as leader who would be elected naturally to our united front conference. That is why we also have such a shortage of forces, because we are narrow and sectarian in our work and do not systematically develop and bring forward those workers who are capable of doing leading work, who are not members of the Party. We have to trust these non-Party workers and help them and push them forward and develop them. It can be done.

WIPE OUT THE STENCH OF THE SLAVE MARKET

Now I must speak especially about two other fields of mass work in this District in which we have special opportunities in District 2, but in which we are especially weak. First of these is the work among the Negroes, winning the Negro masses to the revolutionary movement. New York has perhaps the worst showing of any part of our Party on the question of Negro work. Both absolutely and relatively, New York City is the largest center of Negro population in the world, and these hundreds of thousands of Negroes here are at least 95% proletarian, overwhelmingly working class. They suffer from the most extreme exploitation and oppression, the most exploited section of workers in New York. But what do we have among them? What work are we doing among them? How much organization have we got among them? Almost nothing. Is this because the Negroes are especially difficult to approach, because we have not found a political program which will win their support? Not at all. This mass of Negro population has its eyes turned towards the Communist Party. They are distinctly friendly to our Party. Why aren't we able to effectively work among them?

In the first place, the reason for our failure is that the Party as a whole still has not mastered our Party program on the Negro question. How many of our Party members in New York understand that the Negro question is a national question? How many of our comrades understand that when they echo the Socialist Party slogan

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that the problems of the Negroes are simply class problems of the working class, that this is an opportunistic refusal to recognize the national question among the Negroes? How many of our comrades in this district understand that it is wrong to say that we give equality to the Negroes by treating their problems exactly the same as we would the problems of the workers everywhere? And because our members do not understand these things, it is impossible for us to win the Negroes organizationally and consolidate our influence among them.

The Negroes understand that our Party is something good for them. They understand that something new has come into their life with the coming forward of the Communist Party with its program on the Negro question, and therefore they are friendly to our Party, they listen to us. But when we go among them, our members are not able to consolidate this influence that we have. On the contrary, a very large proportion of those Negroes who have come to our Party in the past have not remained, that is, when they were outside of the Party, they saw something good that they want to join but when they got inside they did not find themselves at home.

I know that many very honest workers, members of our Party, get very idignant when we say to them that they are suffering from the influence of white chauvinism. But the fact remains that most every white worker who has grown up under the influence of American institutions, is influenced by the ideology of white chauvinism. The only way in which we can destroy the influence of this ruling class system of ideas about the inferiority of the Negro in the minds of the workers, is by the conscious development of the understanding of the Communist program on the Negro question and the development of a sharp struggle against every manifestation of the influence of white chauvinism.

White workers express white chauvinist ideas without even being conscious of it. We have lived so long in this poisonous atmosphere of the American capitalist system that we no longer smell this stink of the slave market that still hangs around our clothes and we carry this stink around with us without knowing it. But the Negro can smell it. Oh, the Negro can smell it, you can't hide it from the Negro masses, and because he smells this stink of the slave market still around our Party units and our Party committees, he doesn't believe what we say about our program. He has had promises from political parties ever since the Civil War destroyed the system of chattel slavery, and he no longer has any faith in promises. Our program will only mean something for the Negroes when we begin to realize it in the daily life, to realize absolute unconditional equality

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of the Negroes in our movement, in our trade unions, in the unemployed councils and in our Party, and a complete liquidation of unconscious and half-concealed examples of the influence of white chauvinist ideas. That means that we must systematically carry through a program of political education of our Party on the Negro question. Secondly, we must carry on serious mass activities in the Negro neighborhoods to raise the struggle for the immediate needs of the Negro masses, and thirdly, upon the basis of this mass struggle and the development of mass organizations, recruitment of the best workers from among the Negroes into our Party, and the systematic promotion of leading cadres from among the Negroes.

Finally, a word about the Latin-Americans. We have several hundred thousands of Latin-Americans in New York City, but we have very few in our Party, very few in our trade unions, very few in our unemployed councils and very few in our workers' clubs or any other kind of organizations, and yet the Latin-American workers are especially susceptible to approach by us. They have revolutionary traditions from their own countries. They all come from semi-colonial countries, they are under direct oppression of the United States or British imperialism, sometimes both. Almost all of them have had some kind of experience in revolutionary struggle in their own home country. They are natural enemies of American imperialism, even before they are workers and they are doubly prepared for us, because of the especially oppressed conditions under which they work in the United States, which is almost as bad as that of the Negroes and they are more or less homogenous, speak the same language. I raise the question as a most serious, immediate, burning political question for District 2, that within the next six months to have the beginnings of mass organizations among the Latin-American workers. Possibilities exist. All that is required is a serious systematic bolshevik approach to the solution of this question, establishing mass organizations among the Latin Americans in New York under the leadership of our Party. It can be done and it must be done.

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EXTRACTS FROM CONCLUDING WORDS

We had some excellent contributions in the discussion on the question of shop work. I think, however, it is necessary to say that the main characteristic of our discussion as a whole is that it reflects the weakness of our orientation towards the basic work of the Party. That only the barest beginnings have been made. Because this beginning is so small, we especially value all those contributions that have been made, but we must set it as our task between now and the next District Convention that we will register a decisive advance

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in this respect. *We cannot by any means be satisfied with these small beginnings.*

Now, I must also speak for a few moments of some of the questions that were raised by Comrade Zack. Comrade Zack gave us a very rich and fruitful discussion and demonstrated again in his speech that he is one of our most reliable and productive workers—an essential part of the leadership of the Party. At the same time, in his otherwise excellent speech, there are certain things that must be polemized against.

I think we have to say that Comrade Zack did not yet demonstrate complete realization of the very serious practical importance of much more energetic action to get the trade unions involved in the struggle for the unemployed. This is not just a question of Comrade Zack. This is a general phenomenon in every district, or almost every district, that our trade union organizers tend to separate themselves from the unemployed work and fail to take up the issues of the unemployed in their trade union work and it is not only a question of involving the trade union members in the building of unemployed organizations. Trade unions themselves have a special task of fighting for the unemployed and these tasks are being generally neglected.

In spite of the fact that Comrade Zack overcame some of the shortcomings of his attitude in practice on this question of our work in the reformist unions, he still reflected in his speech the lack of sharp consciousness of the pressing nature of this problem.

Comrade Zack accuses those who object to the formula of "the decline of the A. F. of L." as harboring consciously or unconscious tendencies toward the liquidation of the red trade unions. But for the red unions themselves, this is the most dangerous kind of an argument (*Applause*). Because this argument makes the basis of the existence of the red unions the simultaneous decline of the A. F. of L. and assumes that if we were faced with the fact that the A. F. of L. is not declining, that it might be correct to liquidate the red unions. We accept no such assumption whatsoever. For us the necessity of building the red unions does not arise out of the decline of the A. F. of L., but if the A. F. of L. were growing or flourishing, it would be necessary for us to build the red trade unions just the same. (*Applause.*) The necessity of building the red trade unions arises out of the class struggle at a particular moment and a particular industry and above all it arises out of the question, determined by life itself, whether it is possible to continue the development of the independent leadership of the revolutionary elements within the old unions. In industries where masses of workers are organized in the reformist unions, there, usually, our most important task is to

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build the revolutionary opposition inside the reformist unions and remain within those reformist unions up to the point where to continue to remain in them would mean the surrender of the revolutionary work that we have to do. Beyond that point we do not go. We have no desire whatever to be in reformist unions merely to hold membership in them. We are there to do revolutionary work and when the time comes when this revolutionary work can no longer be carried on without the establishment of independent red unions, then we unhesitatingly establish these red unions, no matter what is happening with the rest of the A. F. of L.

So to think that to speak about the "decline of the A. F. of L." gives a sounder ground to our red unions is a serious theoretical mistake. (Interjection by Zack, "I never said it.") Further, this formula, "decline of the A. F. of L." makes it possible under the shield of this formula to develop lots of other ideas, ideas that Comrade Zack might not develop because he is an old, experienced comrade who is already guarded against many deviations that younger comrades could easily fall into by developing this formula. In the first place, it gives a blanket characteristic to the whole development of reformism in the economic struggles. But can we give a blanket characterization? No, we cannot.

The development of reformism, of social-fascism, in the trade union field is a very complex thing. It is true that the top bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. is experiencing very sharp difficulties. The bureaucracy is faced with the fact that its old slogans no longer have such a strong hold upon the masses, is having to readjust itself and in almost a panic seizes upon new slogans. Every few weeks or every few months they come forward with some new demagogic slogans which are quite a serious departure from some of their slogans of the past. It is also quite true that this top bureaucracy exercises over the masses a diminishing influence precisely because of this condition. But while this is happening to the whole top leadership of the A. F. of L. something else is happening a little below them. That is the serious development of the left reformists, the Musteites and the semi-Musteites, who are comparatively new phenomena in the American trade union field, that arise practically coinciding with the economic crisis. Are we to say that left reformism is declining in America in the trade union field? On the contrary, it is rising. And it is precisely this left reformism which is the most dangerous enemy of the revolutonary trade union movement as well as of the Communist Party. And we are in a very great danger of blinding many of our comrades to the sharpness of these problems when we bring forward and emphasize the formula of "the decline of the A. F. of L." What we must fasten in the heads

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of the comrades are the concrete problems of the struggle against social fascism and especially the struggle against social fascism in the economic field, in the field of building the revolutionary trade union movement, and not to give them any illusions that the problems of these struggles are getting easier and simpler every day, but they are getting more difficult and more complex every day, and we must prepare our comrades for the difficulties, for the complexities of this struggle.

Then one further argument of Comrade Zack. Comrade Zack took exception to that part of the resolution which speaks of the lack of trade union democracy in our organizations. He argues that bureaucracy can exist in class collaboration unions, but not in the class struggle trade union, or if it exists in the class struggle trade unions it is only to the extent that these unions are not actually engaged in struggle, but insofar as they are engaged in struggle, bureaucratic methods disappear. This is wrong. There is no magic whereby the class struggle trade unions automatically throw off the inherited practices of past trade union experiences in America. Revolutionary trade unions grow and develop, and especially in the very early stages they carry over remnants from the past and they even independently develop certain bureaucratic methods of their own because of their lack of experience. There is only one thing that will break this down—not the automatic process of the class struggle, but conscious educational work of our Party in the leading of these revolutionary trade unions and the conscious struggle for the elimination of these bureaucratic remnants. It is our task to consciously carry through this change. I think it should be sufficient to prove this point, to point out that in the greatest economic struggle that we have ever led directly by our red trade unions, the miners' strike of a year ago, a struggle in which we had the unchallenged leadership of forty thousand miners in a fierce battle, in which the workers had confidence in our unions, even after they were defeated in this battle—when the miners had abandoned this struggle, thereby broken to an extent with our trade union—when the union was still trying to continue this struggle— they still had a feeling of confidence in our union even after they had broken away from it, so that our union today exercises a tremendous influence over these miners. This is the best example of leading a large body of workers in a sharp fight. Can we say in face of this example that there were no bureaucratic methods in this strike? We certainly cannot say it. In fact the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International takes precisely this strike, the best example of our work, to show us the existence of bureaucratic methods of our trade union work, to show us the dangers that arise from

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this, to show the absolute necessity of overcoming this danger. I think it is necessary for us to emphasize this resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the lessons of the strike struggles and to request the comrades to give very serious attention to studying this resolution again. It directly throws light upon every problem of our trade union work and the conduct of strike struggles and the Party has not yet by any means thoroughly made these lessons its own property, mastered these lessons. We must study it again and again.

One final point on the question of Negro work. I think it is necessary that in approaching this question we shall have a very clear understanding of its fundamental importance for our Party. The Party cannot become a mass Party, cannot become a Bolshevik Party, unless it wins masses of Negroes, the most active, honest, devoted loyal proletarian Negroes. We have not accomplished this. We cannot rely upon formulas, correct as our formula may be, for the solution of this problem. One thing is clear. Just so long as honest, energetic workers, Negroes, do not feel themselves thoroughly at home in our Party, just so long is something the matter with us and we have got to find it and correct it. Just so long as the Negro workers who come in contact with our Party do not naturally unite with us, and stay inside the Party, the influence of white chauvinism is still at work, and the responsibility for this rests primarily upon the white comrades, and we cannot compromise by one-thousandth part of an inch on this question. That means that the struggle against the influence of white chauvinism must be a permanent feature of our work. The struggle against white chauvinism will not end until after the revolution—and some time after the revolution. What is true of our Party is much more true of the trade unions and still more true of the working class generally. And we have got to make the white comrades, especially those who occupy responsible leading posts, we have got to make them understand politically the program of the Party, we must make them politically sensitive to every concrete problem of the day that has any relation to the problem of the Negroes. And we must say that our Party is not yet sensitive enough to react to these problems. And very often we drive Negro workers away simply by our lack of sensitiveness, lack of reaction to these problems, by our failing to see them, even the smallest one when it arises.

The very smallest problem may become of the most extreme importance in winning the confidence, not only of one Negro worker, but of thousands of Negro workers. This, the white comrades must understand, especially the leading comrades—that is, that it is they who have to win the Negroes. At the same time it is also necessary to say that the Negro comrades have a very special part to play.

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Our Party certainly will not be able to win over the Negro masses without the assistance of the Negro comrades, members of the Party. We must struggle to break down the distrust of the Negro masses, the distrust which they have of all organizations in which the white workers predominate in numbers; a distrust which is absolutely justified by their historical experience. We must and can break it down by our work and primarily by the work of the white comrades. At the same time, the Negro comrades have to furnish that absolutely essential part of the work by giving to the Negro masses the concrete example, the live example of Negro workers who have put their absolute confidence in this Party. The Negro comrades have to consciously understand and carry through this task of dissolving the distrust towards our Party. They can do this not by putting forward the Party as a perfect and complete organization from which the influence of white chauvinism is completely absent. Such an attempt to defend the Party would defeat itself because every Negro worker who comes into the Party will inevitably have experiences that prove to him that white chauvinist influences do exist. But our Negro comrades have to point out to the non-Party Negro masses, not that the Party is perfect, but that the Party is conducting an organized struggle against this, and that the Party is not only the organization that will conduct this struggle against white chauvinism, but it will ultimately destroy white chauvinism.

Finally, I want to express again my feeling that the work of this convention has shown some small progress, is beginning to carry through the line of the Fourteenth Plenum, but that we must, while emphasizing every point of progress, keep clearly before us the main feature of our work, that is, to make this progress of ours one hundred times more swift and effective, to throw ourselves into the revolutionary struggle with more strength, as a solid, crystalized Bolshevik mass Party in the United States.

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Contradictions Among the Imperialists and Conflicts on the Pacific Coast

By N. TERENTYEV

> "The most important result of the world economic crisis is that it has laid bare and sharpened the contradictions inherent in world capitalism.
>
> "(a) It is laying bare and sharpening the *antagonisms between the most important imperialist countries*, the struggle for markets, the struggle for raw materials, the struggle for export of capital. Today none of the capitalist states are satisfied any longer with the old distribution of spheres of influence and colonies. They see that the relation of forces has changed, and that correspondingly markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of influence, etc., must be divided afresh."
>
> (Stalin's Speech at the XVI Congress of the C. P. S. U.)*

THE world crisis of capitalism has sharpened to the utmost the crisis of Japanese capitalism and has encouraged the Japanese bourgeoisie to force on the offensive in China and thus to begin a new imperialist war. On the other hand the same world crisis has for the first time since the war of 1914-1918 created a situation which in a sense is favorable to the expansive plans of Japan. In truth, the financial catastrophe in Germany, the abolition of the gold standard in England and the deepening of the crisis in America has upset the whole system of world capitalist credit. The presence of millions and tens of millions of unemployed, the intense unrest, the dissatisfaction of the broad masses of the people—all this to a considerable extent has tied the hands not only of the European powers as regards Japan, but also of America as well. At the same time the intensification of the world crisis very considerably sharpened the aggressive tendencies of the world bourgeoisie to China, which meant that the resistance of some of the powers at any rate towards Japanese intervention in Manchuria, which was to lead to international intervention in China and its partition, was of necessity weakened. Finally, what is most important, the sharpening of the anti-Soviet tendencies of the world bourgeoisie, again as

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a result of the development of the world crisis, mobilized on Japan's side all the most aggressive elements of world reaction, who dreamed of transforming Japanese intervention in Manchuria into intervention against the U. S. S. R.*

The present events in the Far East are a result of all this, and the direct outcome of the world crisis of capitalism, including the seizure and actual annexation of Manchuria, and the war which Japanese imperialism began in China proper and which it is now trying to continue in the form of international intervention against the Chinese revolution. The Japanese plan for the creation of a neutral zone around the five biggest Chinese ports, side by side with the efforts of Japanese diplomacy to transfer the "Shanghai question" to discussion at a Round Table Conference of the powers interested, proves beyond all doubt that Japan is concretely seeking to partition China and reckons to obtain the lion's share of the spoil. The concentration in Shanghai of ever-increasing numbers of soldiers, the most active assistance in the form of arms and munitions given to the Japanese troops by all the imperialist powers, show that international intervention has already begun. It is quite obvious that in the course of this intervention there will be a considerable deepening of contradictions which will raise the immediate danger of armed clashes among the imperialists.

The alignment of forces in the struggle of the imperialists for domination in the Pacific cannot be isolated from the alignment of forces on a world scale. If we leave aside considerations and factors of second-rate importance, we find that in the main the alignment of forces amounts to the presence of a three-cornered conflict between three leading imperialist Pacific powers—America, England and Japan; a conflict which, it goes without saying, is developing in co-relationship with the cardinal contradiction of our epoch, *i.e.*, the contradiction between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R.

ANGLO-AMERICAN CONTRADICTIONS

"The most important of the imperialist contradictions," said Comrade Stalin in his report to the XVI Congress of the C. P. S. U., "is that between the U. S. A. and England. Both in the sphere of export of manufactured goods and in the sphere of export of capital, the struggle is going on mainly between the United States and

* The theme of this article is an analysis of the contradictions among the imperialists on the Pacific coast. Consequently we do not intend going into the question of the danger of intervention against the U. S. S. R., as this question is outside the scope of our subject and demands treatment in a special article.

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England. It is enough to take up any economic journal, any document concerning the export of commodities and capital, to convince oneself of this. South America, China, the colonies and dominions of the old imperialist states form the main arena of struggle. The superiority of forces in this struggle—and very definite superiority —is on the side of the United States." The Anglo-American struggle is developing in all the countries of the Pacific and is, therefore, one of the most essential considerations in the Pacific problem. In the British Dominions this struggle goes on in the main along economic lines: it should be emphasized that American capital, which is penetrating into the outlying parts of the British Empire, has gained the biggest victories in the Pacific Ocean Dominions of England, especially in Canada and Australia (in 1929, 68 per cent of Canada's imports came from the United States, while only 16.8 per cent of them came from England; only 43.4 per cent of Australia's imports were from England, while America's share rose to 24.6 per cent; while in New Zealand imports, America's share was 10 per cent in 1913 and rose to 19 per cent in 1929).

The same economic struggle which is developing into a political struggle is going on in South and Central America; as this struggle proceeds each side uses the native feudal-bourgeois elements, erects and destroys governments, organizes *pronunciamento* "revolutions." The acute situation in connection with trade rivalry in the four South American states, situated on the Pacific coast—Chili, Peru, Ecuador and Columbia, can be seen from the following figures: In 1926 America's share in the imports of these countries was 32.6 per cent, 46.2 per cent, 42.4 per cent, and 47.6 per cent respectively, while England's share was 17.2 per cent, 15.6 per cent, 22.6 per cent, and 16.2 per cent. In Mexico and the republics of Central America (Panama, Costa Rica, San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, which during the last ten years have been converted completely into American coffee and banana plantations) the superiority of American imperialism is even more sharply defined; but despite this the violent struggle continues, complicated in Central America by the territorial-strategic game which is going on between England and America in close proximity to the Panama Canal, and in connection with the problem of guaranteeing the safety of this canal which is of such enormous importance for American domination in the Pacific Ocean.

On the Asiatic coast England owns an enormous colonial empire—India, Ceylon, Burma, Straits Settlements, the Malay States, Borneo, Hongkong—and to a considerable extent rules over Indonesia with her fifty million population, where Dutch imperialism "in actual fact is more and more forced to play a secondary role of,

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as it were, 'commissionaire,' and which at the same time has to fulfill the function there of gendarme and hangman." (Resolution of the Sixth World Congress on the revolutionary movement in colonial countries.)

India's role in the British Empire is well known. As for Malay and Indonesia, it is here that the overwhelming majority (in Indonesia—one-third) of the world's output of rubber is to be found; the monopoly is in the hands of English capital and is the object of an extremely acute struggle between England and America, which last country is the chief rubber consumer. Here are considerable oil resources—in fact the only important oil wells in Eastern Asia. Here are also to be found large deposits of iron ore (in Indonesia alone, ten times more than the Japanese deposits and four times more than the Chinese), and tin (Dutch East Indies supply one-fourth of the world output of tin). Backed up by her numerous bases and her "colonial monopoly," acquired during a long process of colonial development, England naturally defends the *status quo* here, while American capital, having no pretensions at present as regards territorial expansion, energetically advances along the whole front, penetrating both into Malay and Indonesia and, to a certain extent, into India, and striving to obtain a more favorable alignment of forces for herself. Finally in *China,* which we might perhaps call the most important theater of struggle, American capital not only violently competes with England in all the most important spheres of trade and as regards all the most important objects of capital investment (this competition is especially severe around the markets connected with cotton, oil products, railway equipment, electrical apparatus, machines, etc.); American capital is not only striving to seize all the most important sources of raw materials (wool, leather, vegetable oil products, etc.), but it is preparing to gain control of the economic and political key positions of this country, using its political influence extensively, putting forward its own favorites among the Chinese generals against those of the English and Japanese, organizing military-technical and financial help to these generals (American military instructors, advisers, supply of war materials, aviation, etc.), and by means of these generals gradually gaining predominance on the entire Chinese market. The economic and political enfeeblement of British imperialism as a result of the world war is compelling her to retreat before the pressure of American capital and to take up a defensive attitude all along the line.

In the political sense Anglo-American antagonism in the Pacific has been especially acute during the last few years, and in particular has turned out to be one of the most decisive factors of the interna-

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tional situation which has been brought about in connection with the present intervention of Japan in China. Despite all the traditional talk in the English press about Anglo-American friendship, there is not the slightest doubt that it was just this antagonism which opened up the way for Japan to seize Manchuria and to invade China proper; that it was just the absence of support from England which, for the time being, paralyzed America's counter-advance. The ambiguous, passive policy of the English cabinet, which on the whole has favored Japan, is in no way an expression of real common interests between British and Japanese imperialism in China, but in particular an expression of the combination of Anglo-American contradictions and the anti-Soviet, anti-Chinese policy of the English bourgeoisie. The fact that American capital is already deeply involved in the British Dominions has enormous political influence there.

ANGLO-JAPANESE CONTRADICTIONS

In spite of the considerable development of Anglo-American antagonism, English imperialism has no opportunity, however much she may desire it, of forming an effective common united front against America with Japan, since her interests are also in serious contradiction to the interests of Japan.

1. Commercial rivalry in Eastern Asia, as well as competition in the sphere of shipping are most acute between Japan and England. A violent struggle is in progress between them, first and foremost in connection with textiles, which play an important role, both in Japanese and English exports to China and other Far Eastern markets; but it extends over an enormous host of other most important commodities. In this struggle Japan is carrying on a determined offensive which, especially during the last few years, has meant serious losses for England in trade in Eastern Asia.

2. To take another side of the question, in China and the Malay Archipelago, England and Japan are the main competitors as regards capital investments. In the Malay Archipelago and Indonesia, Japanese capital is acquiring the iron deposits and oil fields. In China, in particular, according to the latest sources of information (Blakeslee: *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1931), the investments of each of these countries amounts approximately to the same amount of 1,250 million American dollars. English capital is in conflict with Japanese on the Chinese railways, with regard to railway equipment, in the Chinese textile industry (where formally over 40 per cent. and actually over one-half of the industry equipment belongs to Japan, whereas England only owns four large factories), in port equipment and even in the sphere of credit and money circu-

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lation (the struggle between the English and Japanese banks in China). True, a considerable part of Japanese investments are concentrated in Manchuria, while the main sphere of investment of English capital is South and Central China; but Japan has very large interests in Central and North China as well, and here the rivalry both as regards the export of commodities and export of capital is of a very acute character. It should be mentioned, furthermore, that English capital has very few direct investments in Japan itself.

3. The political contradictions are of no less importance. To Japan, which is thirsting for foreign markets and which was later than England in choosing and dividing the colonies, has been assigned by the conjunction of all her economic and political conditions, the role of breaking the territorial *status quo* which had come into being in the Western part of the Pacific Ocean. "Despite the tendencies to conflict among different nations in the Pacific," declared Niccolo Roosevelt, "there is one deciding fact: that it is in the interests of the British Empire or at any rate of her Dominions . . . to maintain the *status quo* throughout this region." (Page 11.) "Great Britain . . . is the great conservative which is trying to hold on to all it has," says Roosevelt in another place. (*The Troublesome Pacific*, page 143.) Indeed the objects of desire of Japanese imperialism are not only China, where English capital has such strong interests, but the Malay Archipelago, Dutch East Indies, where iron and oil, tin and rubber, attract Japan, as well as all the colossal opportunities of exploiting the native population, not to mention (as a prospect) even British India and the British Dominions in the Pacific. The attitude of the latter is correspondingly anti-Japanese. The program of Japanese colonial expansion in the end could only be fulfilled at the expense of British imperialism.

In China, Anglo-Japanese relations are complicated by the considerable apprehension which British imperialism has of the Chinese revolution, which is developing in spheres of British influence and which is shaking the foundations of this largest of all colonial empires of the world. The struggle against the Chinese revolution, which is closely connected with the struggle against the Soviet Union, is the link which binds England to Japan and, to a certain extent, unites them. Decrepit England is reckoning upon robust Japan as a standby against revolution in the Far East, and is endeavoring to use her as the gendarme of the Far East. This consideration is of enormous importance as a factor which defines English policy towards Japan, but it is not in a position to remove the antagonism which arises from the consideration mentioned above of the conflict between the economic and political interests of these two countries.

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All that has been said should be sufficient to explain the zig-zag line of policy taken by England towards Japan. The ascendency of Japanese imperialism took place over a period of twenty years on the basis and with the help of an Anglo-Japanese alliance. As is well known this alliance came to an end at the Washington Conference, 1921-22, because of pressure on the part of America and the British Dominions. On the heels of this England began to build up a mighty military-naval base at Singapore, which was objectively a menace first and foremost to Japan. ("There is only one purpose for which the Singapore base can be used: for war with Japan."—*The Nation*, December, 1924), although, obviously, it was directed against the United States. The years that followed saw superficial collaboration between the United States and England, with Japan more or less isolated. As Anglo-American contradictions became more acute, England and Japan once more came closer together and in November, 1928, something in the nature of an agreement to collaborate in China was drawn up. It is possible that in carrying out this agreement British imperialism maintained an attitude towards Japanese intervention in Manchuria and China, which actually left Japan free to act as she is acting at present. England's refusal to support America, and the acuteness of Anglo-American antagonism, without doubt was an important factor which ensured an extremely cautious policy on the part of America. Moreover, the position adopted by England in the League of Nations, the leading part played by the English representative in the comedy of the dispatch to China of a "commission of investigation" appointed by the League of Nations, and the declarations of the English Foreign Minister, Simon, on the Manchurian question (in which declarations, Simon continually refers to the lack of information, and his inability to speak on the subject until information is received from the League of Nations Commission, etc.)—all this proves that British imperialism is prepared to sanction the seizure of Manchuria by Japan (in spite even of the losses sustained by English capital as a result of this expansion on the part of Japan, and in particular in consequence of the concession England was forced to make concerning the Mukden-Shanghai Huang Railway), and that at the present stage it is refraining from making any active declarations against Japan (even of a diplomatic character) in China proper.

This does not mean, however, any mitigation of the Anglo-Japanese contradictions in the Far East. On the contrary, in the very process of the development of the Japanese offensive, these contradictions must of necessity become more obvious and more acute. "If many are prepared to launch forward with the program of complete hegemony in China, England, for her part, will find

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herself in a position where diplomatic measures alone will not be sufficient to defend our interests, for in this case, not only would the policy of 'open doors' be menaced, but also the safety of our trade routes on the Pacific, and also the position of Australia and New Zealand," declared the secretary of the British Joint Chambers of Commerce in China and in Hongkong—Hull, in his article in the *News-Chronicle*, of February 4, 1932.

THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN CONFLICT

Japanese-American contradictions in the Pacific, while occupying a position of secondary importance in the whole system of world contradictions and conflicts (after the contradictions between the capitalist countries and the U.S.S.R., and between England and America), have, nevertheless, during the last few years taken on a very real, very acute form, and at the present moment can be quite definitely called a Japanese-American *conflict*. The essence of these contradictions and the cause of their acute, obvious form does not lie in any competition for trade, which on this side of the triangle is much less developed than on the other two sides. American trade in China and on other markets does not so much compete with Japanese trade as supplement it: a considerable part of American exports to these markets goes on through Japanese brokers and middlemen (according to the *Japan Times* of October 6, 1931—as much as 40 per cent.), and a more considerable part goes on through the Japanese banks (in fact, one-half—according to the same paper), while a large percentage of Japanese exports to China (especially textile) consists of goods, manufactured from American raw materials, or semi-manufactured goods. America supplies steel and machines, not only to Japan, but also to Japanese firms in China (according to figures of the South Manchuria Railway, the purchases by this railway from America on March 31, 1929, amounted to a round sum of 129 million yen as against 193 million yen, representing the round cost of materials bought in Japan). As regards textiles and articles of general consumption, which represent the greater part of Japanese exports to colonial markets and China, American export is not active; on the contrary, Japan exports neither tobacco, nor oil products, nor timber, in which America is strongly interested. In just the same way the American mercantile marine, unlike the Japanese and English, plays no great role in Chinese and Eastern-Asiatic transport. Neither do the actual, existing capital investments of America in China compare in any way with the English and Japanese (according to Blakeslee in *Foreign Affairs* of October, 1932, they amount to no more than 250 million

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dollars), while they are only to a very small extent connected with the Chinese railways, and are not connected in any way with Chinese heavy industry or with the textile industry, i.e., with those spheres which particularly interest Japanese capital. Finally, it should be emphasized that America's trade with Japan herself considerably exceeds her trade with China; America's present trading interests on the Japanese market are more considerable than those on the Chinese market. In fact, during the years 1922-26 Japan swallowed up on an average 5.5 per cent. of America's exports and was responsible for 9.5 per cent. of America's imports, while China's share was correspondingly 2.9 per cent. of the exports and 3.7 per cent. of the imports. It might be mentioned in passing that America occupies the first place also in foreign investments in Japan. According to the latest official statistics from America, the amount of American investment in Japan is 453.5 million American dollars.

If, nevertheless, the Pacific Ocean is at present the arena of almost open conflict between Japan and America, this can be explained by the cardinal fact that the conflict between Japan and America in Eastern Asia is a conflict *of two offensive forces*, of two imperialist powers, each of which is dissatisfied with the territorial, economic and political alignment of forces which have been created, but each of which is actively fighting to extend its sphere of domination. Japanese imperialism is importunately knocking at the door of the Eastern world, on the threshold of which Japan is situated; and its immediate task is the colonial seizure of Manchuria and all, or the main part, of China; with these territories as its "place d'armes," it will inevitably extend its advance towards subjecting the whole of Eastern Asia to its domination, and the whole of the extensive Pacific Archipelago, in this way menacing the British Dominions, already half-way along the road to becoming America, and threatening the most important interests of America in South and Central America. The Japanese line of advance comes into conflict, therefore, with the road of development of American imperialism. The latter's road of development, in turn, lies through the same Eastern Asia for which it yearned immediately after it was formed towards the end of the nineties (Spanish-American War), and through China, where for the last ten years or more it has been carrying on an organized, aggressive, counter-offensive against Japanese imperialism.

The fact that the Japanese-American conflict is one between two of the most active, most aggressive imperialist forces, between the very two powers which are characterized by attempts, each of which excludes the other, to gain the dominating monopoly of all Eastern Asia and the West Pacific Ocean, presupposes that this conflict, which is felt with ever-growing force and particularly clearly *in*

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China, will be most acute and irreconcilable. In China, Japan, with its enormous military advantages because of its territorial proximity to China, has been carrying on an open policy of expansion, ever since the beginning of the world war, directed towards the annexation of Manchuria and the partition of the remains of China, in which she will herself take the lion's share. Of course this policy of partition and expansion is common to all the imperialist powers, especially, moreover, to the United States, but the latter strongly objects to partition, where Japan is the leader, or the basis of which is an agreement between Japan and England. Having entered the arena of colonial expansion later than the European powers, American imperialism was too late to guarantee for herself a suitable base and "spheres of influence" on the Asiatic continent, and this circumstance predefined her policy of "the open door," a policy directed against the partition of China in a form which would be disadvantageous for America; and hence America puts forward her own plan of "internationalization" and "international control" against the plans of the other powers. During the pre-war period this plan was of a more defensive nature, seeking to stop the process of territorial expansion and the deepening of spheres of influence of separate European powers in China; of late, on the basis of a new alignment of forces, much more advantageous for America, this plan has revealed its aggressive offensive side, as a weapon with which American imperialism is seeking to institute its own dominating monoply in China.

American capital, which continues its policy of putting forward schemes of this kind on every suitable occasion, at the same time is carrying on, as stated previously, a counter-offensive in China, in particular penetrating into transport and communications (air communications, radio) and making use of the Nanking government and its Mukden allies as tools in its anti-Japanese policy. The acute relationship between Japan and China in Manchuria during the last few years has been a direct result, and the downright expression of this counter-offensive on the part of American capital; the outward expression of the Japanese-Chinese conflict in these parts simply serves to cover up the real essence of the matter, which is the Japanese-American conflict. This is quite apart from the importance of the Japanese-Chinese conflict in connection with the war for national independence which is being carried on by the Chinese people, and the beginning of which war can already be distinguished in the fighting which recently took place near Shanghai.

The seizure of Manchuria by Japan and the war which is being waged by Japan at present in China proper is exhilarating the Japanese-American conflict, which has been steadily developing dur-

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ing the last few years. The very fact of the seizure of Manchuria, which guarantees Japan an important new "place d'armes" on the continent and an enormous increase in her material resources (raw materials, foodstuffs, fuel, heavy industry), means that Japanese imperialism is now strengthened to a colossal extent and that the prospect of war for the domination of the Pacific is brought much nearer. On the other hand, the seizure of Manchuria could not but be followed by a further Japanese offensive inside China proper, by her demand that the Washington Nine Powers Agreement and the principle embodied therein of the territorial, political and administrative integrity of China could be re-examined (for China—"is not an organized state"), and consequently by Japan's policy of heading straight for the partition of China, or in any case of seizing new "place d'armes" which would safeguard her present seizure of Manchuria in the future. America has always been, and still remains, irreconcilable towards these Japanese aims, which radically change the relation of forces in the struggle for the domination of the Pacific and threaten in the very near future not only the complete paralysis of any further offensive on the part of America, but more than likely will mean that American capital will have to make a complete exit from China and the whole of Eastern Asia (if it wants to avoid being reduced to the position of a "sleeping partner" financing Japanese expansion, as was shown clearly in the affair of the projected American loan to the South Manchurian Railway Company in 1927), and that Japan will become a menacing rival in the struggle for domination on a world scale. The Japanese offensive is a corresponding menace to England, insofar as her immediate object in China proper is the valley of the Yangtse river, which for years has been the recognized English sphere of influence. Among the most decisive factors, however, there remains the antagonism between England and America, which hinders effective co-operation between England and America for a joint struggle against Japan, and the fear and hatred of all the imperialists towards the Chinese revolution and the Soviet Union, by force of which world reaction is at present supporting the aggressive activities of Japanese imperialism. All these factors taken together, together with the support which is being given to Japanese imperialism by France and the specific influence of the universal economic and financial crisis in the capitalist countries, to a certain extent tie the hands of American imperialism in its role of main antagonist of Japan, and compels American imperialism to be extremely cautious. Nevertheless, the memorandums of September 24, 1931 and January 7, 1932, concerning the Manchurian question, and the latest activities of America on the ques-

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tion of the war in Shanghai (Stimson's letter to Senator Borah, and his letter to Senator Bingham), all go to prove that America is neither able nor desirous of reconciling herself to the successes of Japan's acts of aggression, and that the conflict between Japan and America has entered a much more acute stage, a phase which threatens open conflict.

THE ROLE OF FRENCH IMPERIALISM

France is not a factor of first-class importance in the situation which has arisen in the Pacific. Her part in the commerce and shipping of the Pacific is insignificant and cannot be compared in any way with the commercial interests of the three leading Pacific powers. However, she has a most valuable colony in the Pacific (Indo-China), and island possessions in the South Pacific, as well as large interests in Siam and South China. In the past French imperialism was engaged in the Far East, as the financial support and partner of tsarist Russia (even earlier, in the middle of the nineteenth century France was in league with the British Empire in the Pacific, and took part with it in two consecutive wars in China). Of recent years the financial power of France has increased relatively. French capital is once more actively seeking means to penetrate into the Far East. In so far as France has insufficient naval forces in the Pacific sphere of world events, she is once more seeking an alliance like the Franco-Russian alliance, which would make it possible for French capital to expand in the Far East with the help of foreign bayonets. It is beyond dispute that Japan is just this sort of ally at the present moment, since France has no commercial rivalry with Japan, nor needs to fear for her colonial possessions (Japan is quite willing to leave Indo-China out of her own plans for expansion). It is characteristic that even before the Washington Conference, the press of the world was full of rumors about a secret alliance between Japan and France. Now Japanese imperialism is acting with the direct political support, and possibly the financial help of French imperialism, which safeguards in particular Japanese interests in the League of Nations, at the same time holding back English interference and counteracting any interference on the part of America. There is not the slightest doubt that the French bourgeoisie, in return for this support, are reckoning to obtain first and foremost the right to seize certain territories in South and Southwest China, which for years have been recognized "spheres of interest" in China.

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It should be emphasized, however, that the Far East and the Pacific still remain, for France, a mere secondary fighting area.

* * *

Up to now we have limited ourselves to an examination of the struggle of the imperialists for the domination of the Pacific. It must not be forgotten, however, that this struggle is developing on the basis of the cardinal contradiction, the main contradiction of our epoch—the contradiction between the capitalist world as a whole and the U. S. S. R.:

> "The world political situation has now placed the dictatorship of the proletariat on the order of the day and all the events of world policy are inevitably concentrated around the one central point—the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Russian Soviet Republic, which is grouping around itself, on the one hand, the Soviet movements of the advanced workers of all lands, on the other hand, all the national liberation movements of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, who have become convinced by bitter experience that there is no salvation, except in the victory of the Soviet Power over world imperialism." (Lenin.)

It goes without saying that the Pacific is still of enormous importance, moreover, in the plan of development of this fundamental contradiction of the post-war epoch—the contradiction between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union. It is precisely for this reason that the colonial and semi-colonial world is the Achilles' heel of imperialism; the imperialists fear nothing so much as the alliance and collaboration of the toilers of the Soviet Union, freed from the yoke of capitalist exploitation, and the workers and peasants of the enslaved colonial and semi-colonial countries, fighting for their freedom:

> "We want no special propaganda in the East, now that we know that the whole of our system of government is built up on the partnership and fraternal collaboration of the peoples of the most varied nationalities of our land. Every Chinaman, every Egyptian, every Indian who comes to our country and remains for six months can meet with the conviction that our country is the only country which understands the mind of the oppressed peoples."
>
> (Stalin, Political Report of the Central Committee to the XIV Congress of the C. P. S. U.)

Nowhere, for this reason, are the aggressive anti-Soviet aims of the world bourgeoisie so clearly obvious as in the Far East; nowhere do these aims express themselves in the form of such open, callous acts of anti-Soviet banditism as there.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that in the Pacific are to be found the most distant territories of the Soviet Union, and that

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in very close proximity to these lands (where, incidentally, intervention of the first period took place considerably later than in the European part of the Soviet Union; in the former before 1922, in Sakhalin before 1925), there are trained White Guard cadres, which are being equipped and made use of by the imperialists and their Chinese agency especially in view of new anti-Soviet undertakings and adventures. It goes without saying that the Far East can never become the main theater of fighting on the part of the world bourgeoisie against the U. S. S. R., but that the decisive section of their front will always remain in the West, in direct proximity to the vital centers of the Soviet countries. Nevertheless, several of the conditions mentioned make the Soviet Far East in certain respects the most menacing object for the first onslaught against the Soviet Union, for the beginning of the anti-Soviet adventure which will later, according to the idea of its organizers and inspirers, spread along the whole of the borders of the Soviet Union and be converted into a world war between imperialism and the land of Socialism.

All this is sufficient to enable one to understand the degree of importance of the war menace, which is being created for the U. S. S. R. by the present events in the Far East. The menace of war is formed on the basis not only of the directly aggressive aims of definite circles of the Japanese bourgeoisie towards the Soviet Far East, which abounds in fish, timber, oil and coal, and towards the Chinese Eastern Railway, which belongs to the Soviet Union and is under joint Soviet-Chinese control; the menace of war is to the same extent a result of the sharpening of contradictions among the imperialists, which is inevitable in consequence of Japanese intervention and all that is going on under our eyes at the present moment, which has reached the limit beyond which there is no solution, and the accompaniment to which is a corresponding sharpening of tendencies towards an agreement at the expense of the U. S. S. R.

The Soviet Union stands alone against this menace and against the rapacious policy of the imperialists, with her policy of active struggle for peace and her preparedness to defend herself against all attempts to encroach upon her territory. "*We don't want a single foot of foreign territory, but we shall not give up a single inch of our own territory either, to anyone.*" (Stalin, Political Report of the C. C. to the XVI Congress of the C. P. S. U.)

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Yankee Imperialist Intervention Against the Chinese Revolution

By M. JAMES

WHILE quarreling with Japanese and other imperialists over the loot of China under the hypocritical imperialist "open door" policy, Yankee imperialism at the same time unites with, and increasingly leads, the imperialists in the robber war against the Chinese people, in the ruthless attack on the Chinese revolutionary movement and in the intervention against the Chinese Soviets and their Red Army.

According to Rev. G. F. Andrews, who is credited with "knowing China's great northwest better than any white man living":

> "One of the most important services rendered to China by the United States during recent years has been the assistance given in China's fight against the flood of Communism which was let loose over the country in 1926-27."[1]

The basic reason for Yankee and world imperialism to render this "most important" service to their flunkeys in China is the rising Chinese Soviet power which will finally sweep away the interests of Yankee and world imperialism. Since the interests of the United States are fundamentally jeopardized in the face of the inevitable rising revolutionary tide in China, the Wall Street government stretches out its iron hand to "prevent China from going Red."

Since the "open door" policy, the trade between China and the United States showed a rapid increase. In 1910-14, the annual average export from the United States to China was $30,000,000; and in 1915-19, $60,000,000. The figure amounted to $165,000,000 in 1928. However, due to the economic crisis and the consequent revolutionary upsurge in China, the amount decreased to $155,000,000 in 1929, to $100,000,000 in 1930 and to $97,000,000 in 1931.

The decline of exports to China, together with the increasing American investment in China (in 1914, $57,000,000 and in 1929 about $200,000,000), naturally induces Uncle Sam to intervene against the Chinese Revolution in order to expand his market and safeguard his investments in China.[2]

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[1] *New York Times*, May 31, 1931.

[2] Figures obtained from reports of the Department of Commerce, U. S. A.

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It is not merely a matter of safeguarding its present trade and investment interests but more fundamental political reasons which drive the United States in extending its intervention policy.

The establishment of the Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China last November, and the consistent victories and expansion of the Chinese Soviets and their Red Army on all fronts has given tremendous revolutionary courage and inspiration to the workers and the toiling masses in all countries and especially to the oppressed masses in colonial countries. Soviet China is the guiding spirit in the colonial revolutionary movement. The United States, in order to successfully stem the tide of anti-imperialist struggles in the Philippine Islands, Latin America and other colonial nations, deems it necessary to smash the Chinese revolution. During last year, hundreds of anti-imperialist Chinese were jailed and deported from the Philippine Islands by United States imperialism. This is only one of the many instances showing the United States attempting to establish a *cordon sanitaire* between the Chinese revolution and its colonies.

Finally, the intervention against the Chinese revolution by Yankee and other imperialists is utilized as a fertile basis for provocation and military highway against the Soviet Union. The recent events in Manchuria illustrate this point beyond any doubt.

This should make every worker understand that the imperialist intervention against the Chinese revolution means not only the slaughter of the Chinese masses and the attempt to crush the Chinese Soviets, but is also *a fundamental step of imperialism to smash the citadel of colonial revolution and a preliminary step to wage war against the Soviet Union. It is part of the struggle between world counter-revolution and world revolution.*

YANKEE IMPERIALISM DIRECTING THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHINESE RED ARMIES

As other imperialist powers, the United States has utilized various means both hidden and open, to intervene against the Chinese revolution. As Comrade Stalin pointed out:

> "Intervention is by no means limited to the invasion of troops, and the invasion of troops by no means comprises the chief characteristic feature of intervention. In modern conditions imperialism prefers to intervene by the organization of civil war inside the dependent country, by financing the counter-revolutionary forces against the revolution, by offering moral and financial support to its Chinese agents against the revolution." [3]

[3] Stalin: *On the Prospects of Revolution in China.*

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Through loans to the Nanking government, the United States has given its agents in China financial support against the Chinese Soviets, against the Chinese revolution. In 1930, Yankee imperialism loaned over $30,000,000 to Nanking. In 1931 through the Kreuger International Match Trust, Yankee imperialism offered a big loan of $50,000,000 to the Nanking government. There was also proposed a loan of one thousand million ounces of silver to Nanking by the United States. These and many smaller loans were given not only with a view to secure concessions and privileges which were acquired by Yankee imperialism, but to finance its agents to maintain their position against the agents of other imperialist powers and especially against the advancing Chinese Soviets and their Red Army.

Another form of support given by the United States to its agents in China is the supply of munitions, armaments, airplanes and other war supplies. The increasing supplies of munitions by the United States to the Nanking government have been the legalized policy of the State Department. As was reported in the New York Times:

> "Acting on the suggestion of the Nanking Government, the State Department during the last month has granted export licenses for arms shipments to China. The licenses were requested by China through the American Legation at Peiping." [4]

Yankee "advisers" to the Nanking government constitute another form of support. There are over one hundred Americans occupying posts with the Nanking government as advisers to the president, to the Ministry of Finance and other important government organs. These together with the advisers in military affairs have been very instrumental in mapping out and pushing through the four major Red Suppression Campaigns against the Chinese Soviets.

The "moral support" given to the Nanking government by American imperialism has become more and more openly notorious. For example, when in May, 1932, the Chinese Red Army surrounded Changchow, an important city in Fukien Province, the United States made "representations" to the Kuomintang officials in Nanking and Canton that an army be sent to Changchow to "protect the lives" of American missionaries there. The same thing was repeated when the Red Army besieged Kanchow, in Kiangsi Province, and Luchow in Anwhei Province. On June 15th, 1932, the Wall Street government, through its legation at Peiping, again ordered

[4] The *New York Times*, June 11, 1931.

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its Kuomintang tools to send troops against the Chinese Red Army at Kaichow, in Hopei Province.

OPEN INTERVENTION BY YANKEE IMPERIALISM

While imperialism prefers as long as possible to intervene against the revolution in hidden forms, it also finds itself compelled to come out openly against the Chinese people. *The process of open intervention by the imperialists has been stimulated by the disintegration and bankruptcy of the Kuomintang and the rising revolutionary wave of the Chinese masses in their agrarian and anti-imperialist struggles.*

The United States, together with other imperialists, at this juncture, finds it necessary to take more aggressive steps against the Chinese people and the Soviets. When the rank and file of the Nineteenth Route Army fought heroically against Japanese imperialism, the United States and other imperialists utilized the International Settlement in Shanghai as a military base against the anti-imperialist masses. Tht United States troops fired into the refugees and the Chinese soldiers.

In the face of the sweeping advances of the Chinese Red Army, Yankee imperialism has repeatedly fired upon the Chinese Red Army. A few of the many reports from the imperialist papers themselves bring out this point strikingly:

> "American sailors, together with their British and Japanese fellows, are getting daily practice at living targets (!) on the upper Yangtse River this winter, and these members of the Yankee patrol may become the best sharpshooters in the Navy. These sailors have amused themselves by firing upon the living targets on the Yangtse River. But during the autumn and winter months of this year, battles between foreign guards and Communists have become so common along the Yangtse that they are no longer 'news' unless some Communists are hurt. Dispatches to the Navy chiefs from boats which encounter Communist-bandits are monotonously alike: We attack the Communist-bandist on the shore and the Communists answered fire." [5]

United States imperialism does not only participate in the attacks on the Chinese Red Army, but has been striving to organize all imperialist forces for intervention. As was reported by the organ of Japanese imperialists in Shanghai:

> "Concerning the problems how to unitedly attack the Chinese Red Army, the U. S. A. is the center, suggesting to the various powers to have an unanimous action. Great Britain has expressed her atti-

[5] *North China Daily News*, Dec. 11, 1930.

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tude that she is willing to follow the U. S. In case the United States should act together, Japan will adopt the same measure."

During the Canton Soviet, Dec., 1927, the United States gunboat *Sacramento* first landed troops to help the counter-revolutionary forces to crush the Soviet. When the Chinese Soviets were established in Central and Southern China, the firing of American gunboats on the Chinese Red Army along the Yangtse River so frequently occurred that it became "monotonous." At the end of July, 1930, Yankee gunboats cooperated with the forces of the Kuomintang and other imperialists to drown the Changsha Soviet in blood. Recently, the United States dispatched more gunboats and destroyers from Shanghai up the Yangtse. When in May, 1932, Amoy was threatened by the Chinese Red Army, seven American gunboats were ordered there to be ready "for any emergency." At the beginning of June, 1932, near Chungkiang, one of the Yankee gunboats on the Yangtse, "Oahu" together with two other British ships, fired upon the Kuomintang Army which revolted and was sympathetic to the anti-imperialist movement.

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

At this particular moment when imperialist war is actually being waged against the Chinese people, when imperialist intervention against the Chinese revolution is assuming an open character, the struggle for the defense of the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution must under no circumstances be allowed to subside. We must also recognize in fact that the struggle against imperialist intervention in China means at the same time the struggle for the support of the colonial revolutionary movement and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

This revolutionary struggle calls for the fullest exposure of the counter-revolutionary role of Yankee imperialism in supplying munitions to Japan to murder the Chinese masses and in the intervention against the Chinese revolution. We must expose to the workers the reactionary part played by the Socialist Party in regard to this question. We must fully expose the facts that the Socialist Party spreads the imperialist propaganda about a "Japanese-Soviet Pact," that Norman Thomas called on Hoover to take a "strong hand" in China, that the Socialist Party agreed with its brother party of Japan in saying that the Japanese war on the Chinese masses is "not an imperialistic war," etc. Nor must we relent in our struggle against the counter-revolutionary role of the Trotzky and Lovestone renegades in slandering the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Soviets and the Chinese Red Army, branding them as "bandits."

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The Revolutionary Example of the Japanese Toilers

A LETTER FROM TOKYO

By KUMAMOTO

OUR militarists were wrong. The armed attack on China has not brought, as they had hoped, an outburst of "patriotic" feeling in the country. This does not mean that during the course of the last few months dozens of patriotic demonstrations have not been organized. The masses, however, remain indifferent to the drums of the fascist and socialist-fascist agitators.

Animation to a certain degree could have been observed only within the narrow circle of those enterprises working to supply the army. However, also here wages dropped in the autumn of 1931. The worker and the petty tenant-peasant leads a starvation existence, as formerly. Beginning with the military operations in China, the exploitation of the working masses has considerably intensified. The strike movement has not diminished, in spite of the extremely severe government terrorism and the base policy of the social-fascists of all shades, who do not stop at anything in order to nip in the bud even the smallest sign of protest on the part of the workers.

DOPE DOES NOT WORK

And not only among the workers have the Manchurian adventure and the direct threats in the direction of the U.S.S.R. not met with the response on which the imperialists had counted, but also among the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the students. This is furthered by the feeling of absolute uncertainty of the morrow, bred by the crisis, and which has become extremely acute since the beginning of the war in Manchuria, the abolition of the gold standard of the yen, the greater and greater number of bankruptcies and the perspective of widening of the military operations.

The authorities and the press tried to kindle the patriotic feelings of the workers, by telling them that the war would provide the unemployed with bread and refuge. In the bourgeois papers communications appeared about suicides among the unemployed, supposed to have been caused by their failure to be accepted during the mobilization, thus preventing them from going to the front. True, suicides among the unemployed are not rare, but who will believe

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that the Japanese worker commits suicide for grief, because he could not be turned into cannon-fodder for the capitalists? At any rate, the bourgeois papers seem to say nothing about thousands of unemployed participating in the anti-war demonstrations.

The first reports about the number of killed on the Manchurian front and the first transports of wounded, arriving from the front, tell more to the mind and heart of the worker than all of these official communications about the war enthusiasm that is supposed to reign among the unemployed. Four months' war against China have shown to the masses that their conditions are bound to change only for the worse, that the seizure of Chinese territory could not show them any way out of their poverty-stricken conditions of their hunger and unemployment. This alleviates our struggle against the hypocritical lies about war, against chauvinism, in the defence of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese revolution, in the struggle for winning over the workers to our side.

The Japanese Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions, upon the very first signs of the approaching war, without any hesitation or wavering, warned the international and Japanese proletariat, calling upon it to be vigilant, to ward off the class enemy. On July 11, in an appeal issued in connection with International Anti-War Day, the Communist Party pointed out the direct threat of Japan seizing Manchuria and an armed attack by it upon the U.S.S.R.

"*What will you do,*" the Communist Party asked the workers, peasants and soldiers of Japan, "*will you go to kill your Chinese comrades and destroy their Red Army which has established the Soviet power? Do you intend to direct your rifles against your comrades in the Soviet Union, against the fatherland of the world proletariat? No, never! A thousand, a million times, no!*"

AUGUST FIRST CAMPAIGN

In the appeal the following slogans were raised: "*Not one soldier against the Soviet Union! Not one soldier against Revolutionary China! Let us reply to the mobilization with a civil war! Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, down with the monarchy! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!*"

The Communist Party and revolutionary trade unions waged the August First campaign under the slogan of the struggle against the direct danger of war. Tht illegal leaflets distributed during the August First demonstrations and meetings contained the slogans: "*Defend the Soviet Union against military intervention! Defend the Chinese revolution and the Red Army! We demand the withdrawal of all troops from Manchuria, Korea, Formosa, and China!*"

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Beginning with the second half of August, when it finally became clear that Japanese imperialism meant to use the murder of Captain Nakamura as a pretext for sending troops to occupy Manchuria, the Communist Party and revolutionary trade unions raised the slogan: *"Down with imperialist war! Hands off Manchuria!"*

"WAR AGAINST WAR"

The appeal of the Party was published on August 25. On the following day throughout the whole hountry mass raids and arrests of revolutionary workers took place. The attack upon the revolutionary proletarian organizations in Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto and other towns was part of the military operations of Japanese imperialism. Prior to directing the cannons and machine guns against the Chinese workers and peasants, it was necessary to deal a blow at its own workers, in order to nip in the bud all signs of protest against the bloody adventure in Manchuria. The smashing of the revolutionary proletarian organizations had also another aim in view—to guarantee the unhindered work at the military enterprises, particularly in Osaka, Kobe and Kyoto, which are the chief centers producing war supplies and junctions for transporting troops and ammunition.

On August 26 over 1,500 persons were thrown into prison. But the government was wrong, when hoping with one blow to destroy the revolutionary labor movement. On September 12, several days after the mass arrests, the Communist Party called on the workers to *"immediately restore the ruined organizations and to close up their ranks for the counter-attack upon the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists."*

INTO THE FACTORIES

The Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions developed an energetic agitational campaign at the very outbreak of war in Manchuria. On September 20, two days after the occupation of Mukden by the Japanese troops, the Communist Party issued a stirring call to action.

Our struggle against war during this period acquired the character of a wide agitational campaign. The organizations published illegal leaflets, distributed them in town and village, organized street demonstrative strikes of protest against war.

The following is a brief and by far incomplete list of manifestations of the different organizations against war, organized since the beginning of war operations:

On September 20, in the factory districts of Tokyo, leaflets against war were distributed.

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On September 21 and 22 anti-war leaflets were spread among the miners in the Omuta mines of Kusu; on October 8 twenty-one workers of these mines were arrested.

On September 23 anti-war leaflets were spread in Mita, on the outskirts of Tokyo, and on the following day in Kamata (also on the outskirts of Tokyo). One worker was arrested while distributing.

On September 28 in the workers' districts of Tokyo a number of anti-war demonstrations were organized. These were followed by fierce clashes with the police. In Asakusa (outskirts of Tokyo) 27 workers were arrested, while in another workers' district, 31 demonstrators were arrested.

MASS ARRESTS

On October 1 anti-war leaflets were spread at the Shibaur enterprises of Tokyo.

On October 3 a meeting was held of Left artists, who adopted a resolution against war. The meeting was dispersed by the police; 25 persons were arrested.

On October 5 in Aoyama (Tokyo) and on October 7, on the day devoted to the memory of the murdered Party leader, Comrade Watanaba, leaflets were distributed at many labor exchanges, at the tramcar depots, etc.

On October 30 in Osaka the revolutionary transport workers organized protest demonstrations against imperialist war, under the slogan: "*For the United Revolutionary Front of the Chinese and Japanese Proletariat!*"

In spite of the severe terroism, the anti-war movement took on a mass character during the days of the Fourteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. Throughout the country meetings and demonstrations were organized which were carried through with great enthusiasm. In Tokyo and Kyoto many students participated in these. Peasant demonstrations were organized in a number of villages. According to preliminary information, in connection with the manifestations on November 7, nearly 300 workers were arrested in the large cities. The demonstrations on November 7 served also as an occasion for mass arrests of revolutionary workers, which, as a matter of fact, had not ceased since August, 1931. On October 30 in Sizioki, over 30 revolutionary workers were arrested. On November 6 more than 40 persons were thrown into prison in a number of towns, accused of membership in revolutionary organizations. On November 17 about 50 workmen were arrested, charger with participation in anti-war manifestations. On November 25, prior to the despatch of troops to Manchuria, 10 soldiers were arrested, charged with membership in the Communist Party and with

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carrying on anti-militarist propaganda. On December 1, nine workers were thrown into prison in Tokyo, while in Fukuok over 40 miners were arrested. On December 5 in Tokyo 17 workers of the military optical factory were arrested, who were charged with the organization of a union affiliated to the Dzenkyo.

This list is, of course, incomplete. The bourgeois press is forbidden to communicate anything about workers' demonstrations against war, about mass arrests. The Japanese imperialists, along with their terrorism, are too cowardly to risk and give publicity to the trials of revolutionary workers, accused of struggling against war or of work among the soldiers.

SOCIAL PATRIOTS

As we can see from the arrests among the soldiers of the Nakana regiment and among the workers employed in military-industrial enterprises, the Communist Party has intensified its anti-militarist activities in the army and navy. The anti-war leaflet, found among the gifts sent from Japan to the soldiers of the Manchurian occupation army, caused great alarm. It proved impossible to guard the soldiers, even those chosen for the expeditionary army, counting tens and hundreds of thousands, against treason. According to scanty reports at our disposal, in Manchuria several scattered soldiers' demonstrations occurred, which were suppressed with bestial severity.

As we have already said before, the bourgeoisie, its government and its agents, the social-fascists, have not succeeded in blinding the masses with chauvinism, in calling forth an outburst of low instincts and feelings, which are consciously kindled by the paid agents of the bourgeoisie, in order to suppress all movements against capitalist exploitation inside the country, to establish "civil peace" and lead the doped workers and peasants to battle. Proof of the mood reigning among the working masses can be seen from the fact that, in spite of the terrorism, daily arrests, violence, and smashing of our organizations, the number of adherents of the Dzenkyo has doubled during the course of the last six months. We have warded off the first fierce attack of the enemy.

However, we well realize how little has so far been done in the struggle against war, how weak we still are. Of course, it has become more difficult to work now. Espionage and provocations have become more frequent. The social-fascists, even more than in the recent past, play today the role of informers. The least suspicion is enough to be thrown out of the factory and to be handed over into the clutches of the police. Thousands of our comrades are languishing in prison. The main source of our weakness is, however, not the regime of terrorism created for the Communist Party

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and the revolutionary trade unions, but chiefly our own inability to organize effectively our work.

LINK STRUGGLE WITH FACTORIES

Our struggle against war has up till now been chiefly of an agitational-propaganda campaign character. The majority of our leaflets are distributed by us on the streets, and not in the factories and workshops. Most of those who participated in our anti-war demonstrations are unemployed and young workers. The number of employed workers who participated in these demonstrations is comparatively small. This bears witness to our basic weakness—the failure to reorganize our work on the shop basis. At the same time, only by linking up the struggle against war with the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers in the factories and workshops, with the struggle against severe exploitation, against the system of espionage and police repressions, against civil peace, which the social-fascists try to establish at all cost, will it be possible to turn the struggle against war into a real mass struggle. Only in this way will it be possible to approach the workers in the reformist unions, to wage the struggle against chauvinism which their social-fascist leaders try to sow among them.

Up till now we practically paid no attention to this side of the question—to the necessity of linking up as closely as possible the struggle against war with the struggle of the workers at the enterprises against the capitalists and their agents, for the workers' immediate demands. Our anti-war campaign was isolated from the economic struggle and no efforts have been made by us to turn the economic strikes waged during recent months into strikes directed simultaneously against war. This is why also the slogans raised by us during recent months were of an abstract character in most instances.

The Communist Party legally and illegally issued a number of anti-war pamphlets. Their chief shortcoming consists of the fact that while they agitate and explain what imperialist war is, and in whose interests it is waged, they do not, however, point out concretely how it is necessary for the workers, in their given factories, to concretely fight against war. Our work in the enterprises producing war supplies is very weak; the work in the army and navy is weak and insufficiently systematic.

Beginning with the war in China, our political influence has grown not only among the proletariat, but also among the urban and village poor, as well as among the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. We are the only force in the country that wants and can wage a consistent struggle against war, against the united imperialist front.

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Will Imperialist War Bring Back Prosperity?

By ROBERT W. DUNN

WOULD war solve the crisis and bring back "prosperity"? This question is asked in one form or another by many sincere workers who fear and hate imperialist war, but who still feel that nothing could be worse than present "peace-time" conditions. Perhaps starvation would vanish with war, wages might go up, employment might be restored.

These are natural conjectures. And we may be sure that the capitalist press will do everything in its power, as part of the preparations for war, to spread such illusions among the workers. For such notions help greatly to popularize war.

It will take the most energetic work on our part to counteract such propaganda, to show the workers the real meaning of another war—before it comes. Both those who are called upon to die for capitalism as well as those who are asked to make "supreme sacrifices" for Wall Street in the factories, must be reached with the facts.

In the first place the purpose of the coming war being to murder masses of workers in order to destroy the workers' fatherland, the U. S. S. R., to gain territory, markets, raw material—profits—for the capitalists, it is clear that the victims are expected to be workers and not capitalists. This is an axiom of imperialist war as the capitalists plan it. The workers are served first—with machine gun fire, poison gas, shrapnel, tanks and death. The capitalist class waits for the second table, where another kind of fare is served—nice juicy profits.

For hundreds of thousands of American workers who are asked to sit at the first table, it should be patent enough that the war will not bring back "prosperity." Unless by that word is meant being herded like cattle into transports, under the lashing orders of fascist officers, and conveyed thousands of miles to be mowed down in the trenches by shell fire and gas. If complete decimation is "prosperity," then the latter will be the lot of the healthiest, the soundest, the chosen hundreds of thousands of the working masses.

For the remainder, who are not rushed to the battle field, what kind of "prosperity" will war bring? No matter from what angle

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the situation is viewed, the prospect of "prosperity," even for workers who are not at the front being killed, or in the camps on an army wage, is anything but pleasant to contemplate.

THE MYTH OF "HIGH WAGES"

Take first the matter of wages. Most workers who read nothing but the propaganda in the capitalist press probably believe that wages during the last imperialist war showed a marked rise. But this is contrary to the facts, as those who were of working age during the last war period are able to testify. Wages lagged in relation to the cost of living, except for a few more or less favored groups such as the then well-organized railroad workers.

In 1918, the purchasing power of an hour's wages of the American workers as a whole was actually 20 per cent less than it had been during the period 1890 to 1899! And the war years had shown a steady decline in the purchasing power of the hourly wage of workers, the drop in the index number being from 100 in 1913 to 92 in 1918. In 1917, the year the United States entered the war, the index figure was down to 89.

With the cost of living and prices increasing during the war period anywhere from 60 per cent to 115 per cent, a study of wages made at the close of the war by the economists Hugh Hanna and W. J. Lauck, led them to conclude that the rise in money wages between 1914-1915 and January, 1918, was only 18 per cent for anthracite miners; 26 per cent for machinists in the Philadelphia Navy Yard; 30 per cent for bituminous miners working by hand; and 34 per cent and 37 per cent respectively for shipbuilders and pipefitters in the Philadelphia Navy Yard. The rise in the building trades was only from 12 per cent to 20 per cent. In still other industries wages had actually decreased, even during this "prosperity period," while the wages of other groups of workers remained stationary.

These facts on the failure of wages to keep pace with the cost of living are supported by the study of Prof. Edward T. Bullock, who carefully analyzed the actual wages reported from month to month during the war period and compared them with the changes in the cost of living, as indicated by the retail food index of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Disregarding the pre-war relation of wages to living costs which left the mass of workers in poverty *before the war*, he found that wages ranged below the cost of living in the last six months of 1914 an average of 7 points. In 1915 they lagged an average of one point below; in 1916, one point; *in* 1917, 12 *points below;* in 1918, 6 points.

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Similar conclusions on the relation of cost of living to wages during the world war were reached by Abraham Epstein in an article in the *Annals*, September, 1921. After giving a score of pages of official government figures on wages and cost of living, he says, "It is patent that despite the tremendous increase in wages experienced during the last six years, only a few classes of wage earners have succeeded in keeping pace with the increased cost of living." He shows also, by quoting from the figures even of the National Industrial Conference Board—the anti-union employers' research agency—that not a single group of workers in this country earned during this period even the *minimum wage* required for the support of a family with the most necessary comforts, as conservatively estimated by this employers' organization itself.

Taking the real wage figures for specific industries, we find that during the war period they were in many cases lower than they had been just before the war and some of them lower than they were 30 years before! For example, in the textile industry as a whole, we find that the purchasing power of workers' earnings was a little less during the war years, 1914-1918, than it had been during the 90's of the last century! The workes of the silk industry were 4 per cent worse off, in terms of real wages, in 1918, at the close of the war, than they had been in 1914.

Relative real annual earnings of steel workers—including those in iron and steel works, rolling mills, foundries and machine shops, were lower in 1914 than two decades before, and dropped even lower in 1915. By 1916 they had risen only to where they had been in 1892! There were only slight increases in the remaining war years. And while the Schwabs, the Garys, the Morgans, the Graces and their fellow steel capitalists, as we shall see, were coining millions out of the slaughter, the official report of the Inter-Church World Movement, covering the war period before the great steel strike of 1919, admitted that, "nearly three-fourths of the steel workers could not earn enough for an American standard of living. The bulk of unskilled steel labor earned less than enough for the average family's minimum subsistence. The bulk of the semi-skilled labor earned less than enough for the average family's minimum comfort."

WORKERS MADE TO PAY WAR EXPENSES

If these were the trends in wages during the last war, certainly no one not paid to raise the ballyhoo for the next imperialist slaughter would have the gall to contend that conditions will not be infinitely worse in the impending world slaughter that has already

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begun in Manchuria. For in 1914 there was an extensive market opened to the United States by the European countries ordering their supplies here over more than two and a half years before the United States declared war on Germany. There were also the former markets of the European belligerents to be captured by the United States capitalists. In the now threatening war United States imperialism finds itself in no such favored position. Besides, the steady drive for wage cutting and stagger plans have already driven the real wages of the American workers far below the standards of 1914-1918. And this wage-cutting campaign is continued most sharply by the very companies that will make millions out of the next war. American workers may thus expect their conditions in the closely approaching war to be even lower than in the last war and even lower than those in the European countries during the last war. The favored position of American imperialism is a thing of the past. And this clearly means increased suffering, misery and poverty for the workers. The colossal costs of the war will, as always, be borne by the working masses. Wage cuts are one of the ways by which the capitalists will keep this burden resting squarely on the back of the working class.

And at the same time that money wages are being cut to the bone, the workers in the next war will be subject to attacks from a number of other directions. First, through the rapid rise in the cost of living brought about through the inflation that is now more and more popular with the capitalists as well as with Congressmen and "progressives" of every shade. Inflation of credit, already begun, and finally inflation of currency will bring a drop in the value of money and a corresponding decline in the real income of the working class.

Then there is the inevitable war-time forcing of contributions out of the workers, through the sale of all kinds of war saving stamps, "liberty bonds," Red Cross exactions and other methods of "spreading the cost" of the war so that the working class can "share" most fully in the burden. As in the current charity and "relief" drives, and in other community compaigns engineered by capitalist social work agents, during and since the last war, the workers will be compelled, against their will, to participate in these forced loans. Set amounts will simply be checked out of their pay envelopes and even out of the still smaller pay envelopes of soldiers in the trenches.

Taxation of goods consumed—already taking the form of a sales tax on certain essential commodities—will be another means by which the capitalist class will put the full burden of war "prosperity" on the workers. Taxes on food, on coal, on all the necessities

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of life, are to be taken for granted as a part of the robbery of the workers during war time. The maintenance of profits, the soaking of the workers, is the first point in the war tactics manual of the bourgeoisie.

UNEMPLOYMENT PERSISTS IN WAR TIME

But many believe that even though the war might not bring back the mythical "high wages" of the last war period, and though it may bring heavy burdens to workers, it would at least solve the unemployment crisis. Here again the changed situation belies those who believe in the "war way" out of the crisis. First, it must be remembered that even during certain years of the last war there was an average of at least a million out of work. With between 12,000,000 and 15,000,000 out of work at present, it is fantastic to claim that all these workers would be restored to their jobs by the productive (destructive) demands of war. It is true that several millions would be conscripted to work for the capitalists in killing workers of other countries at the front. But their places in the plants or on the breadlines would be taken by the millions of impoverished soldiers' wives, bankrupt farmers, child slaves and others forced to look for jobs to make up for the lost wages of the wage-earner in the trenches. And the capitalists, as usual, will employ those who will work cheapest in munition plants and elsewhere.

Besides, the vast development in machinery and the advance in capitalist rationalization must be taken into account. Even before the crisis years this process had displaced and rendered permanently unemployed some two or three millions for whom there is absolutely no chance for a job under capitalism. These rationalization schemes would become all the more widespread in wartime as maximum speed, "efficiency," and increased productivity are called for by the war staff. The technologically unemployed would not only stay jobless but would be increased in number as industry further developed its methods of doing more work with fewer workers. No matter how favorably one regards the prospect of more jobs, it is inconceivable that the capitalist curse of unemployment could be cured by a war. On the other hand the chronic disease of joblessness would remain and be accentuated as the war capitalists developed still further and finer their technique of producing more with fewer hands.

CONSCRIPTING LABOR

Not only will the living conditions of the workers be further depressed as wage cuts and speed-up devices undermine health, in-

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crease accidents and throw workers out of jobs. The basic status of workers will be affected in still another way during wartime. Those who are not conscripted for the imperialist trenches will be subject to a rigid regimentation and control. Largely as a result of the agreements made between the government and the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and Railroad Brotherhoods, the workers will be completely at the mercy of the War Department.

This is not mere surmising on the part of radical "alarmists." For the schemes have all been worked out on paper and discussed before such hearings as those held by the War Policies Commission last year. Representatives of the War Department appeared before this Commission with their plans and charts all drawn for putting labor "in its place" in time of war. They plan to keep the workers completely "in hand," with the American Federation of Labor bureaucrats acting as virtual foremen slave drivers on the job.

PRESENT-DAY RATIONALIZATION IN WAR PLANTS

What will happen to workers with the coming of war may be seen on a smaller scale in the very companies which are today turning out war goods either for sale to the United States government or to the Japanese imperialist armies. Reports from workers in the factories show increased exploitation, as industry turns to war order work. The Winchester Arms Company, which is now producing weapons of destruction for several governments, is paying workers as low as 20 cents to 26 cents an hour. Workers in the plant of the Aluminum Company of America, near Maryville, Tenn., producing aircraft materials, suffered a wage cut of 10 per cent recently. The Federal Shipyards at Kearny, N. J., has put over a wage cut of 15 per cent while working on four large ships which have special reinforcements for the mounting of heavy guns in time of war. The government arsenal at Picatinny, N. J., has been working on a 16-inch shell order and gas bombs for export while conditions of workers are increasingly dangerous. Even in the specially hazardous powder rooms wages are only $5.20 a day. A branch of the Singer Manufacturing Company in New Jersey, while putting through a wage cut, is setting up machinery to produce guns and airplane motors. In the duPont plants, which have been making chemicals for the Japanese while duPont is conferring secretly with the government on shipments to the Far East, a 10 per cent wage cut has been made and another one is in preparation.

These are sufficient examples to indicate that work on war orders does *not* increase wages or improve the conditions of workers. On

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the contrary, it brings only wage cuts, more speeding up, increasing misery and starvation.

HUNGER, DEATH AND PROFITS

While workers are being driven to the shambles by the fascist officers of the army, while wages are being cut and prices rising, while speed-up schemes multiply and exploitation grows, the main object of the capitalist, as always, will be profits—all that the traffic will bear.

The capitalists, of course, do everything possible to conceal these profits. The "dollar-a-year" exploiters will be headlined as in the last war. The patriotic stunts of big business men and bankers will be played up in the news. But behind the scenes the capitalist class will be heaping up profits in much the same manner as during the last war. The scale may be smaller, or greater, but the proportionate relation to workers' wages and living standards will be the same or even more favorable to the exploiting class.

Workers must be reminded of the enormous pickings that the parasites made out of industry in the last imperialist slaughter.

Even before the United States entered the war, Wall Street was amassing millions from the sale of goods to the belligerent countries of Europe. The number of millionaires in the United States rose from 60 in 1914, the year the war began, to 206 in 1916.

In a study of war profiteering made after the war (United States Senate Document No. 259, 65th Congress) it was brought out that one steel company, with a capital stock of $18,650,000, made a net income of 197 per cent in 1916 and 338 per cent in 1917. Another, with a capital stock of $66,000,000, showed a net income of 134 per cent in 1916 and 202 per cent in 1917. In other words, in 1917 it showed a net income *more than double the amount of its capital stock.*

Profits of the United States Steel Corporation, leader in the recent Hoover wage-cutting offensive, rose from $130,351,000 in 1915 to $333,574,000 the following year, or a profit in 1916 of $1,311 per worker employed by it. In 1917 the profit was $295,292,000, or $1,102 per worker employed. The United States Steel Corporation made a profit of more tran 50 per cent on its war-time contracts.

At the same time Bethlehem Steel Corporation, while paying enormous bonuses, commissions and salaries to its executives, handed its stockholders dividends of $22.50 a share in 1916, and $23.50

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the next year, when the United States entered the conflict. In the same year it paid out a stock dividend of 200 per cent, thus tripling the amount of stock on which regular dividends were to be paid in subsequent years.

But steel was not the only industry that harvested millions from the slaughter and paid out enormous amounts in regular, extra, and stock dividends during the war years. Here are a few more individual companies that fattened on the slaughter of the workers at the front:

Kind of company	*Per cent of net income to capital stock*	
	1916	1917
Chemical	162	106
Chemical	149	69
Petroleum	53	54
Meat Packing	31	49
Bolts and Nuts	122	85
Tin and Terneplate	47	155
Munitions	92	142
Automobile and Parts	2709	1226
Brass Goods	78	110
Electrical Machinery	5	18204
Explosives	474	53
Mining Machinery	54	64
Railway Equipment	55	94
Shipbuilding	45	314
Aluminum	172	290
Soft Coal	31	111
Copper (Michigan)	971	793
Copper (West)	1145	1570
Building Construction	40	93

And these are not the biggest profit percentages to be found in this official report. They represent only typical examples of the rich booty of war reported by hundreds of corporations hiring hundreds of thousands of American workers.

A few more examples may be given for workers interested in the super-profits of particular companies whose names are given in the records of those years. Hercules Powder Company paid dividends of 95 per cent in 1916 and 61½ per cent in 1917. DuPont (powder and chemicals) paid $100 on each share of common stock in 1916 and $51 in 1917. Profits on the investment of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana rose to 85 per cent. The total income of 22 oil companies increased from $51,000,000 in 1914 to $184,-

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000,000 in 1916, and to $181,000,000 in 1917, while their percentage of earning on real investment rose from an average of 18 per cent in pre-war years to an average of nearly 40 per cent during each of the years 1916 to 1918 inclusive.

E. W. Bliss Company, shrapnel manufacturing firm, paid dividends of 39 per cent each in 1916 and 1917, and 49 per cent in 1918. Armour and Company, meat packers, increased its profits from $13,707,000 in 1914 to $30,628,000 in 1917, and was paying, during the war years, at a rate of 75 per cent on its pre-war common stock. The meat packing firm of Swift and Company, for the two years after America entered the war, made annual profits of 60 per cent on its cash investment.

The so-called "sick" industries—lumber, coal, and textiles—were also rich in returns to the capitalists during the war years as is shown in *Labor and Lumber*, *Labor and Coal*, and *Labor and Textiles*, three books in the Labor and Industry series of International Publishers.

It is clear that the war solution of the crisis, increasingly popular with the profit-makers who drew millions out of the last blood bath, would bring anything but "prosperity" to the working class. It would certainly bring wealth to the hands of the property owning class, produce new millionaires, concentrate control of industry and finance still further, lead to fascism—a more open capitalist dictatorship. But for the workers it could mean nothing but a further depression of living standards and increased burdens through wage cuts, speed-up, sales taxes, inflation, forced loans and contributions. And to the worker conscripted to fight to save the capitalist loot, it will mean destruction and death. This is the "prosperity" the capitalist class has in store for the workers in the coming imperialist war.

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The Philippine Islands in the War Area

By WILLIAM SIMONS

THE war situation in the Far East magnifies the strategic importance of the Philippine Islands for American imperialism, and along with this the importance of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino masses in the movement for the overthrow of American imperialism. For the Communist Party of the United States, the fulfillment of our oft repeated promises to give every possible assistance to the Filipino revolutionary movement becomes an immediate burning question.

The Philippine Islands are in the thick of the war area, close to China. While some bourgeois journalists may advocate abandonment of the Islands, on the ground that the United States will not be able to defend them from Japan, yet Wall Street, through Hoover's right hand men, Stimson and Hurley, has declared its intention to hold on to the Islands with even greater tenacity. With the increased campaign by Japanese imperialism in Manchuria, coming ever closer to the Soviet borders, thus realizing the plan of the imperialist powers, including the United States, to try to crush the Soviet Union, the Philippine Islands become ever more important for Wall Street. The Hare Bill passed by the House of Representatives and the Hawes-Cutting Bill pending in the Senate (endorsed by the Filipino "Independence" Commission as "independence" bills) are merely smoke-screens, under cover of which Wall Street is tying up the Islands with its war campaign. These bills aim to satisfy the demand of sugar, cocoanut oil, and cordage interests in the United States for protection against excessive importation of such products from the Islands, and also to satisfy the demand of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor to prohibit Filipino immigration. These bills are maneuvers to lull to sleep the Filipino mass movement for immediate and unconditional independence.

American imperialism will proceed as soon as possible to fortify the Philippines. Already, Stimson has declared that the agreement not to fortify the Islands was a part of the 1922 Washington Conference Naval ratio agreement, thus implying that with any change in that agreement, it will thereupon fortify the Islands. This follows also from official declarations as to the importance of the

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Islands for American imperialist interests. A War Department memorandum of May 5, 1930 stated: "They constitute an important strategic and trade outpost in the Orient and their retention tends to insure our fair participation in the great trade of the Far East." Secretary of War Hurley told the House Committee on Insular Affairs in February, 1932, that "the political chaos in the Orient today is such that in my opinion this is no time to deal with Philippine independence." The Socialist Party, as a capitalist party, declares itself, through the mouth of its presidential candidate, Norman Thomas, to be in favor of Filipino "independence" through the Hare and the Hawes-Cutting bills; and with faith in imperialist agreements, urges its masters to conclude treaties with Japanese imperialism and other imperialist powers to safeguard this so-called "independence" of the Philippine Islands.

GROWING OPPRESSION OF THE MASSES

The lot of the peasants has become desperate, through increased direct and indirect taxes, and through usurious interest rates; they have been compelled to sell their grain reserves at ruinous prices; a great many have had their farm implements confiscated and have been forced to abandon their lands, to swell the ranks of the unemployed workers. Unemployment grows rapidly, the total number of unemployed in the Philippines being estimated at 500,000 (and of these, 50,000 in Manila alone).

The Filipino masses have engaged in mass demonstrations for immediate and unconditional independence, and for unemployed relief. They have even risen up in armed revolt, as in the peasants' uprising in Tayug in February, 1931 and in the Tanggulan uprising in December, 1931. Six thousand workers and peasants, at the November 7th celebration, held in Plaza Moriones in Manila in 1930, cheered the formation of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands. Thirty thousand workers and peasants attended the funeral of Comrade Antonio Ora. The growth of influence of the Communist Party and the mass revolutionary trade unions and peasant organizations was met by a campaign of the government to outlaw and crush them. Scores of comrades were arrested on charges of having organized the Communist Party; some charged with sedition for holding meetings in several towns in Rizal Province. On May Day, 1931, the demonstration in the town of Caloocan, Rizal, was ruthlessly dispersed by municipal police and four detachments of constabulary. On May 30, 1931, the Third Annual Congress of the Proletarian Labor Federation was broken up, and 315 workers arrested. The National Peasants Confederation, to have been held in Naic, Cavite, on June 6-7, 1931, was prohibited by the constabulary.

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Especially since the rise of the revolutionary Communist Party, Proletarian Labor Congress and the National Peasants Confederation, the reformist leaders in the Islands have worked more closely with the imperialists against the workers' and peasants' movement. Among these organizations under reformist control are the reactionary trade unions of Balmori and Cristobal; the fascist Palihan ng Bayan and the Ang Bagong Katipunan of Roxas, Varona and Godoy; and the patriotic association of Aguinaldo.

THE FIRST PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

In the midst of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and Shanghai, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands held its first plenum (January 21, 1932). Resolutions were adopted on (1) The Tasks of the Communist Party; (2) The Manchurian Situation; (3) The National Independence Movement; (4) Youth, and (5) Unemployment.

The general resolution (outlining the tasks) deals first with the economic situation in the Islands and the drive against the living standards of the workers and peasants. It declares correctly that "the United States by all possible means will strive to maintain its rule indefinitely over the Islands and make this colonial country one of its most important naval bases in the Pacific." The Party since its first Congress in May, 1931 "has carried on considerable activities in spite of unprecedented white terror, mass arrests and ruthless persecution of its leaders" but "organizationally, the Party remains very weak." This self-critical resolution declares that there are still remnants of legalism among even the leaders of the Party. (This is confirmed by a letter of the International Red Aid in 1931 to the Workers' and Peasants' Defense Society, which points out that defense activities are confined almost exclusively to court defense, without mass agitation, large amounts of money being spent for bail bonds and court fees.) The resolution declares that "up to the present time (January 21, 1932) the Communist Party is maintaining the fight of the united front tactic from above." The lack of shop nuclei is pointed out. The resolution then cites 21 tasks; among them are: (1) leading the fight against wage cuts; (2) the organization of the unemployed workers; (3) the organization of mass demonstrations against the terror; (4) work within the reformist unions; (5) the establishment of collective leadership; (6) activization of the Party membership; (7) a campaign for recruiting of new members and for regular payment of membership dues.

A weakness in this resolution is that these tasks are simply mention-

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ed, without indicating in most cases how to carry out these tasks (only in the Resolution on Unemployment) is an attempt made to indicate how concretely to carry on the work). And this is precisely the difficult and necessary task, to indicate *how* to do things.

HOW TO CONDUCT THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The general resolution states that "The Communist Party of the Philippine Islands realizes this great danger of armed intervention against the Soviet Union—the citadel of the world revolution and the only fatherland of the world proletariat—immediately convenes the first plenum of its Central Committee in order to work out such practical tasks for the defense of the Soviet Union and against the imperialist war." But the resolutions of the Plenum do not indicate that the purpose of the Plenum was accomplished. The tasks of the Party in the fight against imperialist war are declared to be: 1) to broaden and strengthen the scope of mass organization and demonstration; to mobilize the unorganized and to rally the entire working class to the defense of the Soviet Union—the citadel of the world revolution and the only fatherland of the world proletariat; 2) to turn the imperialist war against American imperialism, Japanese imperialism and all kinds of imperialism, and simultaneously against capitalism and landlordism; 3) for immediate, complete and unconditional national independence of the Philippines and the establishment of a government of workers, peasants and soldiers under the leadership of the proletariat—for a Soviet Philippines." *But how?* What definite steps do the comrades propose, immediate steps against the imperialist war? What about penetration of the native and imperialist armed forces? What about the stopping of shipments of war munitions? This is not brought forward.

The special resolution on Manchuria goes into a lengthy analysis of the situation, ending up with a "program of action in connection with imperialist war." But again, a general program—and not a "program of action." This is their "program of action": (1) fight against world imperialist war; (2) change the imperialist war into civil war and revolution; (3) defend the Soviet Union to the last drop of blood; (4) fight for the immediate, complete and unconditional independence of the Philippines—for a government of workers, peasants and soldiers under the leadership of the proletariat—for a Soviet Philippines; (5) support Soviet China and the Chinese Revolution; (6) support all colonial revolutions; (7) relentless fight against national reformists and yellow trade union misleaders; (8)

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down with the treacherous alliance of the national bourgeoisie and American imperialism.

Again, no definite campaign against imperialist war as such, no immediate action, no clear understanding of definite and immediate anti-war activities. The comrades understand their general tasks but have not yet learned how to connect them up with concrete day-to-day activity and struggle. They still see the road forward only in terms of building the revolutionary organizations "in general."

ON THE WORK OF THE FILIPINO PARTY

The general resolution does not deal in detail with the methods of struggle against wage cuts, nor with the experiences of previous struggles. The resolution on unemployment calls for the establishment of a national unemployed committee. This was organized on March 21, 1932, at a meeting which represented more than 1300 unemployed. An unemployed demonstration was held on April 1, 1932, despite denial of permission by the authorities. This is a marked step forward, away from the legalistic methods formerly employed. A report by the Central Committee dated April 9, 1932, states that "the organization of district (evidently territorial or neighborhood.—W.S.) unemployed committees and the linking of the unemployed organizations with the trade union organizations is now proceeding. One of the immediate tasks set in the resolution on unemployment is "to link up the unemployed committees with the trade unions and peasant organizations in their daily struggles." But great care must be taken to keep the unemployed movement as an independent movement, with its own life and campaign, and not submerged in the trade unions. The Central Committee Plenum decided to build up the trade unions, especially among arsenal, transportation, and sugar central workers. The report of April 9th indicates growing support to the Party from workers and peasants, but lack of funds keeps the Central Committee from sending agitators to the provinces. The Proletarian Labor Confederation is still confined to Manila and the surrounding provinces. Its organ, *Tinig-Manggagawa*, has ceased to come out. The National Confederation of Peasants has succeeded in organizing eighty percent of the peasants in Candaba, in Pampanga province. The militancy of these peasants was shown in the destruction of a watermelon plantation, in retaliation for crooked dealing by an overseer. The National Confederation of Peasants, however, still confines its activities mostly to Nueva Ecija and Cavite. The Young Communist League is weak, with only a few territorial nuclei. The Workers and Peasants Defense (which held its first Congress on March 26-27, 1932)was

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active, especially in raising funds for bond premiums, but failed to carry out mass action against the arrests of revolutionary leaders. It began to publish a paper twice a month. Steps are being taken to revive the Filipino Section of the League Against Imperialism.

The criticism of the resolutions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Filipino Party is made in a fraternal spirit, to help our Filipino comrades. Many of their weaknesses may also be found in the C. P. U. S. A. We in the American Party are also responsible for the weaknesses of the Filipino movement, precisely because we have failed to give them that guidance and support which we have repeatedly promised.

The material on hand on the work of the Filipino Party is too limited to permit of any further analysis. But according to their Plenum resolutions, they are not rooted in the shops and plantations. Work among the unemployed has only been begun. The mass organizations are still confined to a small section of the country. *The turn toward mass work* called for by the Fourteenth Plenum of our C. C. *must also be made by the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands.* We therefore suggest to make a thorough study of the resolutions and reports of the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the American Party held recently.

SUPPORT TO THE FILIPINO MOVEMENT WITH DEEDS

The Communist Party of the Philippine Islands, young and weak, has repeatedly called up us for support. But beyond a few political letters, our support has been very inadequate.

Time and time again, our duty toward the masses in the colonies has been pointed out in the colonial thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, in resolutions of the Red International of Labor Unions and of the International Red Aid. Yet imperialist ideology weighs heavily upon us. We act as though American imperialism was confined to the narrow limits of the United States mainland. Else how can we explain the failure of the Party districts to take up seriously their duties under the "adoption" plan approved by the 7th Party Convention in 1930? Why did the San Francisco and Seattle districts fail to carry out the directives of the Central Committee for demonstrations upon the arrival of the Filipino "Independence" Commission in December, 1931? Why did these districts ignore directives to arrange mass demonstrations against Governor-General Theodore Roosevelt, when he left early in 1932 to take up his new post in the Philippines? Yet these districts have assumed the obligation to give special support to the revolutionary movement in the Philippine Islands. Why

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did Section 6 of the New York District (with a large Filipino population) fail to conduct any mass agitation on the issue of Filipino independence? What have the California and Seattle Districts, and Section 6 in Brooklyn, done to win over the Filipino workers in their territory for the revolutionary struggle here? More serious efforts should be made by the west coast districts to organize the Filipino agricultural workers. But organizing the Filipino workers in the United States does not solve the colonial problems facing us. Organization of colonial workers inside of the United States is no substitute for support to the struggles of the masses in the colonies. This support is the task not only of workers of colonial origin, but particularly of the non-colonial workers.

Fighting against the terror used in the Philippine Islands against the masses, supporting their strikes, demanding immediate and unconditional independence for the Philippine Islands—should be a part of our daily work, linked up with our other struggles, and especially with the election campaign.

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The Struggle Against the Provocateur

I

THE history of capitalism in the post-war period is the history of its decline, its crisis, the history of the frenzied struggles of the bourgeoisie to retain its class rule. During the first few years after the war, the ruling classes consoled themselves with the hope that the Bolshevik Revolution had been only a temporary fever, but now it is beginning to seep through into the minds of the leading bourgeois politicians that the entire system of capitalist economy is being threatened, that capitalism must now strain every nerve to defend itself against the new social order created by the heroic efforts of the masses.

This truth is being driven into the heads of the governing "statesmen" with particular force by the blows of the world crisis which is raging with increasing force, despite the hopes of the owning class and all the assurances of the apologists of the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie regard a furious attack on the toiling masses, a war against the Soviet Union, the forcible repression of the colonial revolutionary movement as the only way out of the crisis. In their efforts to force millions of the toiling masses into the clutches of more severe exploitation, the ruling classes are strengthening more and more the state apparatus of violence.

Provocation is the oldest weapon in the armory of the ruling classes in their struggle against the toiling masses. During the very early period of development of the revolutionary proletarian movement the English and later the French bourgeoisie developed a very subtle system of provocation. Russian Tsarism always considered provocation as its most trusty weapon. The history of the working-class struggle in Russia produced such masters in the art of spying and provocation as the Chiefs of the Secret Service Department, Sudeykin and Zubatov, such traitors to the revolutionary movement as Azef and Malinovsky.

But the weapon of provocation has never been used on such a grand scale and in such subtle forms as it is being used at the present time when the decisive class conflicts are becoming more and more imminent. It must be said with all due precision that our Parties underestimate this danger, they do not fully appreciate the *indissoluble connection between the historic moment we are now passing through and the spread of the use of the methods of the agent-*

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provocateur as a weapon in class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

Formerly, when the ruling classes considered themselves to be an invincible power, the aims of the agent-provocateur were, generally speaking, comparatively narrow: the secret police merely tried to catch this or that dangerous revolutionary, to disrupt a campaign that was being organized, to paralyze a particular action the Party was engaged in. At the present time, however, when the ruling classes are "trembling before the Communist Revolution," the "horizon" of the secret police has considerably widened: they are striving to demoralize the movement from within, to disrupt the forces of the revolution, to drive the Communist Party underground, or to strengthen the reign of terror, to divert the work of the Communist Parties to the wrong track, to paralyze the forces of the proletarian vanguard in the decisive moment.

II

There is no infamy, no baseness to which the bourgeoisie does not resort in its struggle against Communism. One of the favorite methods of the secret police, one of the most effective means of inciting the wide masses against the Communist Party is *for the political police to organize some terrorist act, some "attempt at assassination," so as to ascribe these acts to the Communists.* This is an old weapon, but it is used today to an extreme and unprecedented extent. As an example, mention may be made of the attempt to wreck an express train on the Viatorborg Bridge in Hungary, in September of last year, and, a little earlier, another attempt to wreck a train in Jueterborg, Germany, etc. These acts were immediately ascribed to the Communists. True, it soon developed that the attempt in Viatorborg was committed by the fascist Matushka, a white guard Hungarian officer, connected not only with the Hungarian political police, but also with military circles, and even directly with the virtual dictator of Hungary, the war minister, Gembesh. But that makes no difference—the incident served as a pretext for launching a furious attack against the Communist Party, led, of course, by the social-fascists. A cry against the "bloody hand of Moscow" went up and the government instituted court-martials against Communists. The immediate aim of the agent-provocateur was accomplished.

The following, for instance, is what the organ of the Hungarian government, *Budapesti Hirlap,* wrote about the attempt in Viatorborg, on September 15 of last year:

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> "The bloody hand of Moscow has reached out to Hungary . . . a Communist infernal machine exploded on the Viatorborg Bridge . . . the crime must not remain unavenged."

And the fascist newspaper, *Magyarsag*, wrote on the same day:

> "There is no doubt that although this infernal machine exploded on the Viatorborg Bridge, the fuse was made by Moscow hands. . . . Here it is, the newest Soviet export to Europe, a worthy part of that Five-Year Plan which must transform Russia into a huge Red arsenal against the bourgeois order, against Christian culture. They come now with a new form of dumping, the dumping of terror. . . . If they wish to provoke this kind of war, there can be no other answer except war to the last drop of blood, war in which every honest citizen, every sensible worker must do his duty for his own, his family's and his country's interest."

The German bourgeois newspapers spoke in the same strain after the wreck of the train in Jueterborg. The social-fascists, who know very well that the Communist-Bolsheviks have always been opposed on principle to the substitution of individual terrorist acts for revolutionary mass action,* were naturally in the lead. Ernest Heilmann, the social-democratic millionaire and friend of Barmat, in the magazine, *Das Freie Wort*, the theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party, wrote as follows:

> "Within the last few weeks, after the murder of two social-democratic police captains, two secret murders of two police commissars were committed in almost the same place, directly near the Communist headquarters. The railroad catastrophe in Jueterborg which, to judge from the news, is one of the vilest crimes ever committed in Germany, and the politically fanatical attempt to blow up the entire Frankfurt-Berlin express, in which the Reichs-Chancellor and the foreign ministers were erroneously assumed to be travelling, are crimes of the same category."

The downright fascists echoed the social-fascists. The newspaper, *Der Angriff*, wrote on August 12:

> "The Communists attempted to blow up an express train. The suspicion which immediately arose that the explosion was caused by a Communist-terrorist group has proved correct. But the clue leads not only to the northern quarters of Berlin, but also to Russia, at whose command more than one bomb has exploded in Europe."

Otto Meyer, member of the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party, cynically wrote in the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party, *Vorwaerts*, on August 11:

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* See in this connection the valuable contribution of E. Thaelmann in Vol. IX, No. 1 of the *Communist International*, containing Lenin's program statements thereon.

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> "They are seeking for the protecting obscurity of the underground, they are provoking the government to outlaw the Party in order to rally the crumbling ranks of the Party and distract attention from their own guilt by shouting about emergency laws and blood-hounds. These are the vile tactics of the Communist leaders, who, from their safe hiding-places, are sending our workers into fire and destruction, because they need human sacrifices for purpose of propaganda."

Soon after that the bourgeois horde had another excuse for persecuting the Communist Party. Ammunition dumps were discovered in a number of places in Germany which, it was alleged, belonged to the Communist Party. This caused another savage outcry and gave rise to fresh demands to suppress the German Communist Party. The police began to weave clues leading to the Communist Party and naturally to Moscow. Although the Communist Party definitely declared that it had nothing to do with the ammunition dumps, although it declared that no act of provocation by the enemy would force it from the Bolshevik path of mass struggle for the overthrow of capitalism to the path of terrorism—the fascist and social-fascist gangs were not appeased. The police raided the Karl Liebknecht House—the headquarters of the Communist Party—and thoroughly ransacked it in order to discover proof of the guilt of the Communist Party, proof that never existed. The immunity of a number of Communist Reichstag deputies was flagrantly violated and their homes searched. In the end, of course, the story about the Communist ammunition dumps and about the alleged existence of Communist terrorist groups had to be dropped. But in the meantime, all the bourgeois parties waged a frenzied campaign against the Communists; in the meantime, a new attempt was made to drive the German Communist Party underground.

III

Acts of provocation from within, penetration of the enemy into the very ranks of the Party itself, are even a greater danger than the acts of provocation instigated from without.

As we have already emphasized, the secret police at the present time are not only trying to discover what the internal situation of the Party is, but also to demoralize it; they are trying to influence its political line, to divert it on to the wrong track.

During the period of the tempestuous development of the revolutionary movement in Europe immediately after the imperialist slaughter, one of the most experienced secret services, the French secret police, made systematic attempts to penetrate into the revolutionary vanguard of the French workers, and to direct their movement along

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a path desirable for the police. Thus, a secret police agent, by the name of Anguetil, in an effort to win the confidence of the workers, began, in 1919, to publish extremely "revolutionary" newspapers, the *Bolshevik* and *Le Titre Censure*. Anguetil was soon exposed; but this case serves to show that the political police is indefatigable in its search for means of demoralizing the revolutionary movement. It takes advantage of all the right and "left" Trotskyist groupings in order to incite a struggle against the Communist Party within the very midst of the workers. In this direction the French secret police systematically took advantage of the opportunistic grouping of the "minorities."

The political police take advantage of *all* fractional fights against the general line of the Party and of the Comintern, and sometimes themselves organize such fights, in order to disrupt the Party, to paralyze its activities, to discredit its leadership. The Party must always bear in mind *that there cannot be an unprincipled or any other fractional struggle directed against the line of the Comintern that will not be utilized and aggravated by the secret police.* More than that, fractional fights create an atmosphere which makes it extremely easy for the secret police to penetrate the ranks of the Party. For instance, there is not the slightest doubt that, due to the longstanding fractional struggle within the Communist Party of Hungary, the Hungarian secret police succeeded in placing a number of provocateurs in the Party. To facilitate this task for themselves, the secret police deliberately spread rumors about provocation within the Party, themselves accused others of acts of provocation in order to cover up their own tracks. Thus, in India and Korea, various groups, for a number of years, accused each other of being provocateurs.

The secret police constantly make a practice of trying to induce the Party to take the path of terror in order to provide a pretext to drive it underground, or to increase the reign of terror against the Party if it is already underground. Thus, in 1925, the Polish secret police tried, through its agents in the Party, to give the May Day celebration a terrorist aspect. On the instructions of the secret police, the provocateurs manufactured bombs. Fortunately, the Party succeeded in exposing the plans of the police in time.

The United States police is particularly ingenious in provoking strikes and various other movements of the proletariat at the most inopportune moments in order to disrupt them and demoralize the masses. This provocative method is often used by the social-fascist parties to disrupt the growing labor movement, when they are not able to prevent the movement from achieving its aim in any other way.

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IV

All these methods of demoralizing the Party, of distorting its political line, represent only one phase of the activities of the police agents in the ranks of the Party. Not less dangerous for the Party is the work of the provocateurs in disclosing the activities of the Party, in exposing the role of individual Party workers. This, of course, is particularly important for the illegal Parties. Yet, our Parties show unpardonable thoughtlessness in this respect.

Very often a Party regards mass arrests as an accident, although the experience of years of revolutionary activity shows that *mass arrests are impossible without betrayal.* It is time all Parties learned this truth; it is time we learned to investigate very carefully the circumstances of every such arrest.

Some comrades think that such things should not be discussed openly. Even if they succeed in exposing a provocateur they consider it best not to speak about it very much, for, they think it might compromise the Party if it were known that it allowed itself to be deceived by the enemy, particularly if the provocateur was discovered in the leading circles of the Party.

Such a point of view is absurd. It must be emphasized once more that provocation is one of the methods in the class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Is it not obvious that the ruling class, utilizing the entire apparatus of class rule, will—sooner or later—find ways and means of placing its spies in the Party? It is enough to put the question to make it clear that there is not a Party in which the enemy is unable to place its agents. That being so, *it is not the open exposure of a provocateur that compromises the Party, but the inability to expose him,* the inability to deal with this question seriously.

There is not the slightest doubt that it is much more difficult to discover provocateurs in the capitalist countries at the present time than in the old Tsarist times in Russia. The enemy has learned a great deal. Even the Tsarist police resorted to subtle maneuvers in its struggle with the revolutionary movement—but now, the secret police has got its tactics down to a system. Arrests do not always immediately follow the discovery of a secret organization. The bourgeoisie guard their agents like the apple of their eye. It is better to refrain from making an arrest (often an arrest of prominent underground workers) rather than risk the exposure of the provocateur, rather than direct suspicion against him. It is important for the secret police to keep their spies in the Party for years, for only then can they really penetrate into Party secrets, and under certain circumstances, even influence Party

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activities, paralyze its work in one direction, and promote it in another direction.

But some inexperienced revolutionary may say: if the question is put that way, it means that provocation is, to a certain degree, inevitable. In that case, how can it be combatted, particularly if we bear in mind that the exposure of provocateurs is made extremely difficult by the tactics of the secret police today?

But he who is discouraged by the methods of the enemy is no revolutionary. Those who are ready to capitulate before provocation because of its "inevitability," forget that the white terror is just as "inevitable," that all the acts of class oppression of the toiling masses by the bourgeoisie are just as "inevitable." It is obvious that only the worst opportunist, the worst renegade will capitulate before manifestations of class oppression, will refuse to fight against them. The struggle against provocation is just as possible as the struggle against all acts of class oppression. Its success depends on one fundamental condition; *it must be a struggle of the entire class, a struggle of all the masses and the entire Party, and not a struggle of individuals.* But to this problem we shall return later.

V

The methods employed in placing provocateurs in revolutionary organizations are so varied that to cover the entire field in a brief article is impossible. The political police utilize all means in recruiting provocateurs from among Party members: naked violence (brutal torture in the dungeons of the secret police), the starvation of the unemployed, the national and religious prejudices of the backward worker, and the inexperience of the young revolutionary who allows himself to be drawn into the net of a "heart-to-heart" talk with the secret police agents. Whoever starts discussions on "principles," on "philosophy" with the secret police, must know that he has already stepped on a slippery path, that he is already only one step from treachery. Questions as to how a revolutionary should conduct himself under examination, in prison, at the trial, must be thoroughly worked out by the leaders of the Communist Parties.

The grave danger of factory espionage which makes the development of Communist nuclei in the factories difficult, must be particularly emphasized. Here, the kinds of espionage are most varied: they range from all kinds of detective agencies for spying on the workers, which are particularly numerous in the United States, to "Communist" nuclei organized by spies in the factory. The Japanese secret police is especially ingenious in this respect—it organizes Marxist courses for its agents in order to enable them to appear as alleged "Communists."

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Many cadres of provocateurs are recruited from the fascist and social-fascist parties who have comparatively easy access to the Communist Parties. It is obvious that German social-democracy can take advantage of its own defeats. The social-fascist party can always slip "its man" into every group of workers which splits from it and joins the Communist Party. These people can later carry on detective work in the ranks of the Communist Party. Strict control on the one hand, and intensive work on assimilating the new workers who enter the Party, on the other hand, are the only means by which the Party can expose alien and even hostile elements within its ranks.

VI

The methods of the secret police are many and varied, their possibilities extremely great. Yet, despite this, the struggle against provocation does not present insurmountable difficulties.

It must be emphasized that it is not only a matter of exposing one or another provocateur. This is, of course, extremely important, but it is not the main thing. Just as it is not so important for the secret police to arrest one or another revolutionary as to disrupt the Party and paralyze its activity, so is it not so important for the secret police to arrest one or another revolutionary as to disrupt the Party and paralyze its activity, so is it not so important for the Communist Party *to expose individual provocateurs as to fight against provocation as a system*, to deprive the bourgeoisie of this weapon of disrupting the revolutionary working class movement.

Thus the *struggle against provocation* can be correctly carried on only as a *component part of the general revolutionary class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism*. And likewise there can be no real class struggle against capitalism unless a relentless, irreconcilable struggle is waged against provocation as a means of disrupting the working class, as an instrument of bourgeois rule.

But that means that it is fundamentally wrong to undertake the struggle against provocation as a separate *campaign*, carried through as a shock-campaign, after which the matter is allowed to rest. Not a campaign, but systematic, persistent *daily* mass struggle against provocation—this is the task before the Communist Parties, a task to which the Communist Parties do not pay enough attention.

Every Party member, every worker, every rank and file member of the revolutionary army must fully realize the great importance of this task. The duty of all Communist Parties is to fix the attention of the wide masses on the struggle against provocation.

The struggle against provocation is first of all the struggle for secrecy within the Party. Laxity in these matters must be sternly

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combatted. Those who do not observe the rules of secrecy are not revolutionaries. Those who through carelessness expose the entire organization to the blows of the enemies are not revolutionaries.

But the rules of secrecy cannot simply be learned by heart. It is, of course, necessary to study the experience accumulated by generations of revolutionary workers. But this is not enough. It is necessary to learn secrecy in the ordinary every-day revolutionary work. In this respect very strict mutual control is necessary. All petty-bourgeois sentimentality must be eradicated from Party life; *confidence in a revolutionary Party is based only and primarily on organized mutual control.*

Breaches of fundamental rules of secrecy should be punished in the same way as are deviations from the political line of the Party. Only then will the importance of secrecy be raised to the proper level.

An irreconcilable struggle must be waged against talkativeness. It is important that all Party members, and this applies equally to so-called legal as well as illegal Parties, should realize *that talkativeness is the most dangerous enemy to the revolutionary cause, bordering on downright treachery.*

An incorrigible chatter-box has no place in a revolutionary Party.

The most important condition for a sucessful struggle against provocation is to have a proper form of organization, correct co-ordination of legal and illegal work. This is particularly important for underground Parties. A proper form of illegal organization, proper subdivision of labor and co-ordination of Party functions will make the work of the *provocateurs* very difficult. The great importance of co-ordinating legal and illegal work was strongly emphasized by Lenin in his book *Left Wing Communism.* In speaking about the provocateur, Malinovsky, Lenin said:

> "He betrayed scores of the best and most devoted comrades. . . . That he did not cause more mischief was due to the efficient co-ordination between legal and illegal forms of our activities. Malinovsky, as a member of the Central Committee of the Party and a deputy in the Duma, was forced, in order to gain our confidence, to aid us in establishing daily papers, which even under the Tsar knew how to carry on the fight openly against the opportunism of the Mensheviks, and to preach the fundamentals of Bolshevism. . . . With one hand, Malinovsky sent to jail and to death scores upon scores of the most active Bolsheviks, while with the other hand he was compelled to aid in the training of scores and scores of thousands of new adherents through the medium of the legal press. . . ." (p. 30.)

As far as the struggle against definite provocateurs is concerned, it is necessary to say this: Every discovery of a provocateur should

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be given the widest publicity. What happened in one of our comparatively legal Parties is absolutely impermissible. A provocateur was discovered in one of the provincial organizations. He was expelled from the Party, but the matter did not get any publicity. This provocateur, exposed in one city, was able to join the Party in another district and continued his activities there until a representative of the first organization, who knew the provocateur, happened to visit that place by chance. Only then did the comrades decide that it would do no harm to announce the facts about the provocateur in the Party press.

It is obvious that a "struggle" against provocateurs which is not given any publicity is not a struggle at all, it is in reality giving protection to provocateurs. It is obvious, too, that only the widest publicity, only the constant vigilance, not only of the Party, but of the entire Comintern, to every discovered fact of provocation will really expose the agent of the enemy, on the one hand, and will make it possible for all Parties to study the accumulated experiences in this field on the other.

All Parties must raise the question of struggle against provocation in all seriousness. At the present moment, when the bourgeoisie is making desperate efforts to drown the revolutionary movement in blood, to behead the vanguard of the revolutionary class, when hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries in all capitalist countries are shedding their blood for the cause of Socialism, a frivolous attitude toward the questions of provocation is an unpardonable crime. It suffices to recall the execution of tens of thousands of Chinese revolutionaries, the hundreds of workers and peasants tortured and imprisoned and hung on the gallows of fascist Poland, the hundreds of thousands of workers brutally killed by the secret police in the Balkan States, to realize that the question of struggle against provocation is an urgent, burning problem of the revolutionary movement. talism.

But we will hasten the historic date of the destruction of the class rule of the bourgeoisie if we will raise the question of an indefatigable mass struggle against provocation to the proper level, if we will connect this struggle with the revolutionary class struggle of the toiling masses for the overthrow of capitalism.

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"The Defense of the Fatherland"

By V. I. LENIN

(*This article was written in* 1916 *in reply to an article by P. Kiyevsky* (*Piatakov*) *entitled* The Proletariat and the Right of the Nations to Self-Determination in the Epoch of Finance-Capital.

P KIYEVSKY is convinced, and wants to convince his readers that "he is in disagreement" only with the right of nations to self-determination, with paragraph nine of our Party program. He tries with much heat to rebut the accusation that he has made any fundamental retreat from Marxism *in general* on the question of democracy, that he is a "traitor" (the poisonous quotation marks are his own) to Marxism on any basic issue. But the fact of the matter is that so soon as he starts giving vent to his disagreement, pretending it is only about a partial or special question, so soon as he comes with his arguments and objections, etc., it turns out that he is deviating from Marxism right along the line. Let us take paragraph C (Section 2) in his article.

"This demand (that is to say, the self-determination of nations) leads directly (!) to social-patriotism"—so our author pronounces, and explains that the "traitorous" slogan of defence of the fatherland is a conclusion "drawn with absolutely (!) logical (!) justice from the right of nations to self-determination." In his opinion self-determination is:

> The sanctioning of the treachery of the French and Belgian social-patriots who, with arms in their hands, defend their independence (the national state independence of France and Belgium)—they are *doing* what the adherents of "self-determination" only speak of. . . . Defence of the fatherland belongs to the arsenal of our worst enemies. . . . We resolutely refuse to understand how one can be *simultaneously* against the defence of the fatherland and for self-determination, for the fatherland and against it.

So P. Kiyevsky writes. He has clearly failed to understand our resolutions against the slogan of defence of the fatherland in the present war. So I have to take what is written in black and white in these resolutions, and explain once more the purport of the clear Russian words.

The resolution of our Party adopted at the Berne Conference in March, 1915, and entitled "On the slogan of the defence of the

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fatherland" begins with the words: "The real essence of the present war consists in," and so on.

The question at issue is the present war. It is impossible to say this more clearly in the Russian language. The words, "the real essence," show that it is necessary to distinguish the apparent from the real, the superficiality from the essence, the phrase from the fact. In the present war the phrase "the defence of the fatherland" falsely makes out the imperialist war of 1914-16—a war for the partition of colonies, for the acquisition of foreign lands, etc.—to be a national war. In order to leave out the smallest possibility of distortion of our views, the resolution adds a special clause on "*genuinely* national wars," which "took place *especially* (note that 'especially' does not mean exclusively) in the epoch from 1789 to 1871."

The resolution explains that "at the basis" of these "genuinely" national wars, "was a long process of mass national movements, of struggle with absolutism and feudalism, the overthrow of national oppression."

That is quite clear? In the present imperialist war, which has been engendered by all the conditions of the imperialist epoch, that is to say, it has not appeared accidentally, it is not an exception, it is not a deviation from the general and typical, the phrases concerning the defence of the fatherland are a deception of the people, for this war is not national. In a *genuinely* national war the words "defence of the fatherland" are in no way a deception, and we are in no way against it. Such (genuinely national) wars occurred "especially" during the years 1789 to 1871, and the resolution, while not by a single word rejecting their possibility even today, explains how a genuinely national war has to be distinguished from an imperialist war disguised by pseudo-national slogans. For this special purpose of distinguishing, one has to consider whether "at their basis" lies a "long process of mass national movements," "the overthrow of national oppression." In the resolution on "pacifism" it says directly:

> The Social-Democrats cannot reject the positive importance of revolutionary wars, *i.e.*, not imperialist wars but such as were conducted for example (note that "for example") from 1789 to 1871 as struggles to overthrow national oppression.

Could the resolutions of our Party adopted in 1915 speak of national wars, examples of which occurred from 1789 to 1871, and point out that we do not reject the positive importance of such wars, if such wars were not recognized as possible today also? It is clear that this could not have been so.

The brochure of Lenin and Zinoviev, *Socialism and War*, is a

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commentary to *i.e.*, a popular explanation of, the resolutions of our Party. On page five of this brochure is written in black and white that:

> Socialists have recognized and still recognize the legality, the progressiveness, the justice of defence of the fatherland or defensive wars *only* in the sense of the "overthrow of an alien national oppression."

The example is quoted of Persia against Russia and similar cases, and the brochure goes on:

> These would be just and defensive wars *irrespective* of who was the first aggressor, and every socialist would sympathize with the victory of the oppressed, the dependent states deprived of full rights as against the oppressor, enserfing, depredatory "great" powers.

The brochure appeared in August, 1915, and was published in German and French. P. Kiyevsky knows it well. Not once has either he nor anyone else made objections to us either against the resolution on the slogan of defence of the fatherland, nor against the resolution on pacifism, nor against the elucidation of these resolutions in the brochure. Not once! We may ask, are we slandering Kiyevsky in saying that he has completely failed to understand Marxism, when this writer, who, since March, 1915, has made no objection to our Party's views on the war, now, in August, 1916, in an article on the self-determination of nations, *i.e.*, in an article ostensibly on a sectional question, reveals an astonishing misunderstanding of the question in general?

P. Kiyevsky calls the slogan, "the defence of the fatherland," "traitorous." We can calmly assure him that *any* slogan is, and always will be, "traitorous" for those who mechanically repeat it, without understanding its significance, not thinking on the matter, restricting themselves to a memorization of the words without an analysis of their sense.

What is the "defence of the fatherland," speaking generally? Is it some scientific conception from the realm of economics or politics or something of that kind? No! It is simply the most current, generally used, sometimes simply Philistine, expression, connoting the *justification of the war*. Nothing more, absolutely nothing! The "treachery" here can only be that the Philistines are capable of justifying *any* war, by saying: "we are defending the fatherland," whereas Marxism, which does not stoop to such Philistinism, demands an historical analysis of each separate war, in order to determine whether *that* war is progressive, serving the interests of

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democracy or the proletariat, and is *in this sense* justifiable, right, and so on.

The slogan of defence of the fatherland is purely and simply a reactionary petty bourgeois justification of war, through the inability historically to analyze the sense and significance of each separate war.

Marxism gives such an analysis, and says: if "the real essence" of the war consists, *for example*, in the overthrow of foreign national rule (which was *especially* typical of Europe in the years 1789-1871) that war is progressive on the part of the oppressed state or nation. *If* the "real essence" of the war is the partitioning of colonies, the sharing out of the spoils, the despoliation of foreign lands (such is the present war) then the phrase "defence of the fatherland" is a "direct deception of the people."

How is the "real essence" of a war to be found, how is it to be determined? War is *the continuation of politics*. It is necessary to study the politics of the period before the war, the politics leading to and causing the war. If it was imperialist that is defending the interests of finance capital, plundering and oppressing colonies and foreign countries, then the war arising out of that policy is an imperialist war. If the policy was one of national emancipation, *i.e.*, expressing the mass movement against national oppression, then the war arising out of such a policy is a war for national liberation.

The Philistine does not realize that war is a "continuation of politics" and so he restricts himself to the remark, "the enemy attacked," "the enemy invaded my country," not realizing what the war is being waged for, and by *what* classes, on account of *what* political end. Kiyevsky stoops completely to the level of such Philistinism, when he says that the Germans occupied Belgium, which means, from the point of view of self-determination, that the "Belgian social-patriots are right"; or, that the Germans have occupied part of France, which means that "Guesde can be satisfied," for "the war is reaching territory inhabited by this people" (but not a foreign one).

For the Philistine the important question is, "*Where* are the armies, who is *now* winning?" For the Marxist the important question is: What is the *given* war being waged about, irrespective of who, at the moment, is victorious?

What is the present war being waged about? That is indicated in our resolution (which is based on the policy of the warring countries, the policy which they carried on for decades before the war). Britain, France and Russia are fighting for the retention of the colonies they have stolen, for the pillage of Turkey and so on. Germany is fighting to win colonies for itself and itself to

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pillage Turkey and so on. Let us assume that the Germans even take Paris and Petersburg. Will the character of the present war be changed thereby? Not in the least. The purpose of the Germans (and, what is still more important, the policy realizable through the victory of the Germans) will then be the taking of colonies, hegemony in Turkey, the taking of alien national regions, Poland, for example, but not in the least the establishment of an alien national oppression over the French or Russians. The real essence of the present war is not national, but imperialist. In other words: the war is being waged not because one country is overthrowing national oppression while the other is defending it. The war is being waged between two groups of oppressors, between two robbers over the question of who shall divide the spoils, who shall pillage Turkey and the colonies.

In brief: war *between* imperialist great powers (*i.e.*, powers oppressing a whole series of foreign peoples, entangling them in the nets of dependence upon finance-capital and so on) or a war *in alliance* with such powers is an imperialist war. Such is the war of 1914-16. "Defence of the fatherland" is a deception in *this* war, it is its justification.

War *against* the imperialist, *i.e.*, the oppressing powers, waged by the oppressed (for example, the colonial peoples), is a *truly national* war. Such a war is also possible today. The "defence of the fatherland" on the part of a nationally oppressed country against the one nationally oppressing it, is not a deception, and socialists are *in no way against* the "defence of the fatherland" in *such* a war.

The self-determination of nations is the same as the struggle for complete national liberation, for complete independence, against annexations, and socialists *cannot* reject *such* a struggle—in any of its forms, right down to insurrection or war—without ceasing to be socialists.

P. Kiyevsky thinks that he is fighting Plekhanov; for Plekhanov pointed to the connection between the self-determination of nations and the defence of the fatherland! Kiyevsky believed Plekhanov in thinking that this connection was *really such* as Plekhanov represents it. After thus putting his trust in Plekhanov, Kiyevsky took fright and decided that it is necessary to reject self-determination in order to save oneself from Plekhanov's conclusions. . . . A great confidence in Plekhanov, a great fright also, but not a trace of reflection as to where Plekhanov had gone wrong!

In order to represent this present war as a national one, the social-chauvinists refer to the self-determination of nations. There is only one correct struggle with them: that is to point out that this struggle is not over the liberation of nations, but to decide who of

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the great despoliators shall oppress the nations *the most*. To reach the conclusion that it is necessary to reject a war *really* carried on over the liberation of a nation results in the worst caricature of Marxism. Plekhanov and the French social-chauvinists refer to the republic in France in order to justify its "defence" against the monarchy in Germany. If we argue as Kiyevsky argues, then we ought to be against a republic or against a war which really is waged for the maintenance of a republic! The German social-chauvinists refer to the universal franchise and the compulsory education of all in Germany, in order to justify the "defence" of Germany against tsarism. If we argue as Kiyevsky argues, then we must either be against universal franchise and compulsory education, or else against a war *really* carried on in order to defend political liberty from attempts to take that liberty away!

Until the war of 1914-16, Karl Kautsky was a Marxist, and a whole series of important works and pronouncements by him will remain forever examples of Marxism. On August 26, 1910, Kautsky wrote in *Die Neue Zeit* on the question of the approaching and threatening war:

> In a war between Germany and England the question will be not democracy but world hegemony, that is to say, the exploitation of the world. That is not a question in regard to which the social-democrat should stand on the side of the exploiters of their own nation.

There you have an excellent Marxist formulation, completely agreeing with our views, completely unmasking the *present* Kautsky, who has turned from Marxism to the defence of social-chauvinism (we shall return to this formulation) and quite definitely explaining the principles of the Marxist attitude to war. Wars are the continuation of politics; consequently, once there is a struggle for democracy, a war over democracy is also possible; the self-determination of nations is only one of the democratic demands, in no way differing in principle from the others. "World Hegemony" is, to put it briefly, the content of the imperialist policy of which the imperialist war is the continuation. To reject the "defence of the fatherland," *i.e.*, participation in a democratic war, is a stupidity which has nothing in common with Marxism. To whitewash the imperialist war by applying the conception of the "defence of the fatherland" to it, *i.e.*, by representing it to be a democratic war, is equivalent to deceiving the workers, and passing over to the side of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

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The Economic Crisis Grinds On

By JOHN IRVING

(*Labor Research Association*)

THIS month the U. S. A. enters upon the fourth year of a business depression which is proving to be unprecedented in extent and severity. It was in June, 1929, that the *Annalist* index of business activity declined to 108.9 from 110.1 the preceding month, the peak of the Coolidge-Mellon speculative boom. With the exception of a faint flicker now and then, this index has been going down since, and now, as of May, 1932, stands at 53.1 (preliminary). In other words, within three years, to the month, the pulse of economic America has slowed down to nearly one-half of its normal rate (100 on this scale being normal). Present levels of business activity in the United States are lower than at any time during the past one hundred years. Relative to the normals allowed for different periods of the past century the present index is lower than that of 1921, or of 1907, or of the 1890's, or of the 1870's, or of 1842—all major depression periods back to 1831. And all this has happened in a matter of three years.

But the cleft in the business activity index which occurred in June, 1929, was not confined to industrial production of which this index is a composite. With similar disastrous results it very quickly spread throughout the entire economic structure of the country. During the last week of July of that year, the *Annalist* "All Commodities" index of wholesale prices (average 1913 equals 100), receded from 150.4 to 149.6, a mere quiver. But today, as of the week ending June 14, 1932, it stands at 87.3. Again, during the last week of August, 1929, the weighted average price of eight leading industrial stocks, as compiled by the New York Times *Annalist*, made a rather sharp turn downward. A month later, the New York stock market was in convulsions. From a high of $311.90 per average share reached during the week ending September 21, fifty selected shares dropped to an average of $250.30 by the end of October, and to $207 per share by the end of the year. Today, not quite three years later, these same stocks go abegging at around $40 a share!

And so at the beginning of this fourth year of depression, American agriculture, manufacturing industries, mining, banking and finance are prostrate. Prices, employment, consumption, building con-

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struction, foreign trade, are the lowest in decades. The railroads cannot meet their fixed charges without borrowing from emergency funds set up by the Federal government. Municipal and state governments are near bankruptcy. The Federal government is by $3,000,000,000 the poorer. The vaunted "business leadership" of these United States is discredited. Even "Round-the-Corner-Prosperity" Hoover has admitted to be "much disturbed" over the failure of his special brands of depression cures. Unemployment is rampant. Everywhere there is insecurity, poverty, starvation, desolation.

AGRICULTURE

The plight of the American farmer as measured by the decline in the prices of agricultural commodities is deplorable. Wheat, with the exception of a brief period last fall, is selling at the lowest prices recorded in three generations. Cotton, on June 12, was selling at 4.95 cents a pound. This was the lowest price on record, with the exception of the autumn of 1897 when December contracts were selling at 4.73 cents a pound. The composite index of all farm products, at 56 per cent of the pre-war level, is lower than at any time since the 1890's. The purchasing power of the farmers' dollar is the lowest in a generation—farm prices having fallen so much lower than the prices of the commodities which the farmer has to buy. Land values now average 89 per cent of their pre-war levels, as compared, for instance, with 106 per cent only a year ago, and forced sales, through mortgage defaults and for non-payment of taxes, are largest in the history of American agriculture. (Further facts on crisis in agriculture in *The American Farmer*, by George Anstrom. International Pamphlets.)

And there is nothing on the horizon which would seem to hold forth any hope of early improvement. The contrary seems to be true. For example, the apparent supply of raw cotton in this country as of May 1, is figured as over twelve million bales (as compared with eight and one-half million bales a year ago, and six and one-fourth million bales two years ago.) This is equivalent to a good average annual crop of this American staple. With this amount on hand barely three months before the new crop is harvested, prices must remain at present levels or more lower for many months to come.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

The *Annalist* index of business activity is continuing to decline. Indeed, in recent months its decline has been accelerated. The decline of 5.1 points from March to April (from 61.6 to 56.5) was

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the severest since the 8.8 decline from October to November, 1929 (when indexes stood 105.7 and 96.9 respectively). And the 3.4 points decline from April to May this year was the largest monthly decline since the decline of 4.7 points between July and August last year. And these larger drops, it should be noted, are occurring at the lower levels of the index. As we approach the bottom of a depression, the rate of decline should be decreasing. But this evidently is not yet the case as regards the current crisis.

The weekly figures carried into June give no indication of any betterment.

Other measures of industrial activity point in the same direction. May output of *pig iron* was lower than any month's output since 1897. It was 11 per cent lower than in April this year and 61 per cent below the output of May, 1931. *Steel mill* activity is running at below 25 per cent of normal, and last week (ending June 12) had dropped to 18 per cent of capacity (in some localities, to about 15 per cent). One need go to the years immediately following the war in Russia to find such utter industrial demoralization.

Unfilled orders on the books of the United States Steel Corporatin in May reached the lowest figure on record. The figure, 2,177,162 tons, is about two-thirds of that for May a year ago and less than one-half of that for May, 1929. It amounts to about six weeks' productive capacity of the corporation. As one producer recently put it, the recent demand has not been sufficient to replace that which has been lost by rust.

Only one out of every five blast furnaces available for use is in operation in this country today.

A more than usual seasonal decline is reported by Bradstreet's for *building permits* issued in May. "Normally the May figure shows a drop of about 6.5 per cent from April. This year the figure is down 24 per cent from April and nearly 73 per cent from May a year ago," the report states. May figures of building permits this year amount to less than 13 per cent of the May average for the years 1920-1930.

Production of Portland *cement* in May was 50.6 per cent and shipments were 43.3 per cent below a year ago.

May sales of *automobiles* by General Motors (to dealers in the United States and Canada, plus overseas shipments) amounted to 66,739 units compared with 153,730 a year ago, with 147,483 in May, 1930, and with 220,300 in May, 1929.

The *textile* industry is setting up new lows for the depression, and this applies to all lines of the industry—to cottons, woolens, silks, and rayons. Domestic mill consumption of *raw cotton* in April was

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the lowest for that month since 1911. In May it amounted to about 56 per cent of the estimated pre-depression normal. Finishing plants are operating at less than a third of capacity.

Wool consumption in April was the lowest monthly total, with the exception of the December, 1919 figure, since the series began in 1918.

Silk deliveries in April were the smallest since June, 1930, and the smallest for the month since April, 1924.

During May, *rayon* production schedules were reduced to 50 per cent of the industry's capacity. Prices, set at 65 cents or even less per pound of 150 denier rayon, are the lowest since the invention of this artificial fiber. Rayon yarn plants are closed completely during June with 20,000 workers of a single company (American Viscose) idle.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND PAYROLLS

The unemployment situation grows continually worse. The drop in both employment and payrolls from April to May was the sharpest in months. For every 100 persons gainfully employed in American manufacturing industries in 1926, less than 60 are working today, and of these, only half, perhaps, are working full time; and for every $100 of payroll in these industries in 1926, only $42.50 was paid out in May this year. On *a most conservative basis*, using the official figures for *factory employment and payrolls* and other employment and payroll data published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, we arrive at 12,500,000 as the minimum number of *totally unemployed* persons in the United States as of May 15. But a more correct estimate would place the number at about 15,000,000. Almost as many more, it would seem from similarly conservative estimates, work only *part-time*. For instance, the number of employees on the payroll of the United States Steel Corporation during 1931 was recorded as follows:

Employees	*1st Quarter*	*2nd Quarter*	*3rd Quarter*	*4th Quarter*
Full-time	76,260	61,524	41,019	35,674
Part-time	149,784	154,445	149,512	146,482
Total	226,044	215,969	190,631	182,156

Officially these figures would show a decrease of 44,000, or 20 per cent, in the personnel on the payroll of the United States Steel Corporation between the first and fourth quarters of 1931 (the difference between 226,000 and 182,000), or, correspondingly, an addition of 44,000 to the *unemployed* of the country. But such a

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statement does not disclose the fact that this number is made up of a 41,000, or nearly 60 per cent, decrease in the corporation's full-time employees and of only some 3,300 in the number of *part-time* workers. Nor does the statement tell us that on the steel corporation's payroll during the last quarter of 1931, nearly four times as many persons were working part-time as were working full-time, or that the part-time personnel, the 146,482, was three and one-half times as large as the number, the 41,000, now added to the millions of *full-time* unemployed. If these figures of the steel corpo-corporation are typical, the country is very much misled in the estimates given as to the number of wage earners directly affected by unemployment.

As regards payrolls, *those who had jobs*, as of May 15, this year, were getting a wage total only 42.5 per cent of what they got in 1926.

TRADE AND CONSUMPTION

Domestic trade, as measured by *department store sales*, fully reflect the depths of the depression. Contrary to the usual seasonal movement, the value of department store sales decreased from April to May. In comparison with a year ago, May sales were 24 per cent lower. On the basis of the 1923-25 average as 100, the May index stood at 74. And this is not by any means wholly due to the decrease in retail prices. Retail prices during this period, from May, 1931, to May, 1932, have declined only about 16 per cent. Sears, Roebuck and Company, the largest mail order house of the country, passed its June quarterly dividend.

Consumption, as measured in terms of *freight car loadings*, also showed an unseasonable decline. Contrary to an expected seasonal rise in commodity shipments of about 6 per cent, commodity car loadings actually dropped 6 per cent from April to May.

Retail store *failures* are still on the decrease, having amounted to 393 during the week ending June 9, as compared with 343 the preceding week and with 311 during the corresponding week a year earlier.

Sales of *life insurance* in May were 22.5 per cent less than a year ago. For the first five months of this year, the decline has amounted to 12.1 per cent, as compared with the corresponding period of a year ago. Sales of life insurance until a year ago had never shown a decrease of such magnitude.

The decline in our *foreign trade* shows no abatement. Exports in May were the lowest since August, 1914, and imports were lower than in any month since January, 1909.

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Bank clearings are running 50 per cent below a year ago, and last year, it should not be forgotten, was also a year of depression.

BANKING AND FINANCE

Contrary to current newspaper reports, bank suspensions have not been materially curtailed, presumably as a result of the forced credit program of the Washington administration and of the Federal Reserve Banks. We note the following figures:

BANK SUSPENSIONS—JANUARY TO MAY

Month	*Number Suspended*		*Liabilities**	
	1932	1931	1932	1931
January	342	202	219	76.6
February	123	77	65	34.6
March	45	86	14	24
April	68	64	35.5	41.7
May	118	—	—	—
June, first two weeks	44	—	—	—

These figures show, first, that the observed decline in the past two or three months was purely seasonal. Similar declines occurred last year also. Secondly, already beginning with April, there has been a return to increasing failures. But above all, coming after the 2,298 bank failures of 1931, following upon the 1,345 failures of 1930—each in turn by far the largest number in American banking history—failures this year should be on a decreasing scale. After all, there are now *some* 4,000 *fewer banks available for failure* than there were in existence when prosperity disappeared around the corner some three years ago!

The fact is, of course, that the banking situation is not any healthier today than it was last year, and that the financial structure of the country is so full of holes that with all the credit that is being pumped into it by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Federal Reserve banks ($750,000,000 by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and some $500,000,000 by the Federal Reserve banks in a matter of two months), the banking system of the country is foundering and unless the unexpected happens, the next few weeks, when the semi-annual reckonings come to light, we are likely to witness greater banking "distress"—as it is euphemistically called in Wall Street circles—than occurred even in last fall and winter. The announcement of a few days ago that Lee, Higginson and Company, one of America's leading banking houses, is about to be liquidated, may be an indication of what is about to

* In millions of dollars.

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happen in the near future to many another banking institution of lesser strength.

As regards steps to remedy the situation, President Hoover has virtually thrown up the sponge, when on May 20, he admitted he was "much disturbed by the slack credit action" of his finance schemes and consented to the setting up of a committee of twelve "bankers and industrialists," headed by Owen D. Young, to devise new ways of using Federal Reserve credit to stop the leaks. The upshot was the organization of a $100,000,000 private investment pool, participated in by 20 leading banks of the country, to bolster up the dying securities market by buying "sound" securities for the "long pull." For a few days the market revived sufficiently for some anxious insiders to unload on the ever-present unsuspecting public, and now the market is again as groggy as it was before the pool was organized.

Net earnings of the Federal Reserve banks during the calendar year 1931, just announced, were less than $3,000,000, as against over $8,000,000 in 1930, and were the smallest since 1917.

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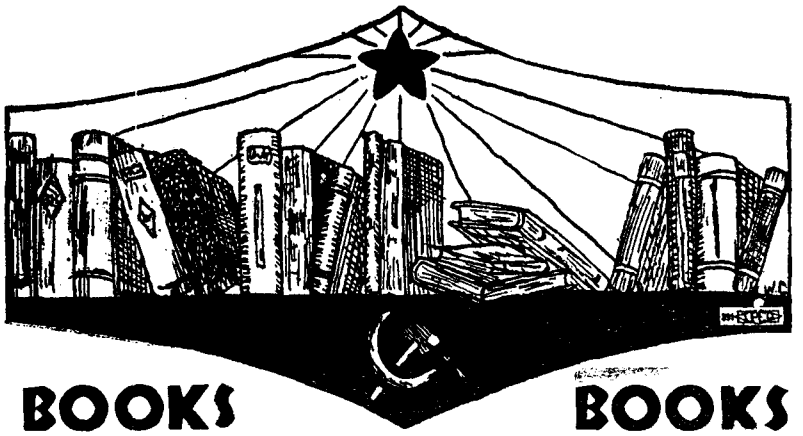

THE MOLLY MAGUIRES, by ANTHONY BIMBA. International Publishers, New York. 144 pages. Indexed. $1.00.

Reviewed by VERN SMITH

The industrial crisis of 1873 reduced union membership in the United States as a whole by about three-quarters. It cut wages by over half. The national trade union movement based on fairly militant class lines, the National Labor Union, had disappeared in the boom period, the era of good feeling, just before the crisis. It was followed by a national movement called, "The Industrial Brotherhood," which was, if anything, more class collaborationist and whose leaders were more slavish to the employer than the American Federation of Labor today.

In the midst of this, the official coal miners' union, the Miners National Association, aped the policies of the "Industrial Brotherhood," fought against struggle and for extreme legality, accepted wage cuts regularly, as does the United Mine Workers today.

But in the midst of this, the Anthracite miners of eastern Pennsylvania, through the left wing in the Workers Benevolent Association, fought some of the most vigorous strike struggles against wage cuts that history has known. The W. B. A. was itself one of the organizers of the Miners National Association, and its leader, Siney, became the leader of the Miners National. Its official policies were pure class collaborationist, and on the strike field, were for selling out the strike. But within it, the fighting Irish, organized in local units of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, carried on a struggle for better conditions in the collieries that forms one of the most dramatic parts, one of the episodes about which most legends have been written, and least facts published, of any of the chapters of American labor history.

These eastern Pennsylvania local organizations of the Hibernians are lumped together and called affectionately by their members and the sons of their members "The Molly Maguires"; called in hatred and fear by the coal operators and their press and their historians "The Murderous Molly Maguires."

Bimba gives an excellent, documented account of the growth of Anthracite mining from its small beginnings in 1830 to its 24,800,000 tons yearly production in 1880. He shows how the industry raised the population of the three main Anthracite counties from 48,123 to 352,308 in the same time. He shows how, by means of wages that averaged around a dollar a day, by company store cheating that brought the coal miner ordinarily a "bob-tailed

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check" (no pay at all in money) by cheating on weights, long hours and terror, the great companies flourished, and gradually trustified under control mainly of the railroads.

The Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Co., which hanged the Molly Maguire leaders and, before that, broke the "Long Strike" of the miners in the 1870's is the same Philadelphia & Reading which last year reported, in the midst of crisis greater than that of the 70's, a net profit of $1,360,295. Bimba doesn't point this out, but on the whole, he does tell the story of conditions and organizational forms up to and through the lost "Long Strike" of 1875.

The loss of the strike, through terror led by President Franklin B. Gowen of the Philadelphia & Reading, and through treacheries of the official labor leadership, smashed open union organization. The local branches of the Hibernians continued the struggle underground.

There followed a period of guerrilla fighting, in which Gowen's gun thugs tried to kill every man that was dangerous to profits and exploitation in the coal fields. No one knows how many murders were committed on the miners, any more than is known exactly how many Harlan county miners have been assassinated by the Rockefeller gunmen in Harlan County, Ky., in the last two years. The miners fought back, they defended themselves, they did some killing too. To finish off the job, Gowen brought in an unknown number, but certainly a large number, of Pinkerton detectives, the first use on a large scale, of agents provocateurs and hired perjurers for framing labor leaders in America.

One of these Pinkertons, the spy McPharlan, a man with a previous record of murder and perjury, became a professional witness in the murder frame-up trials of the miners' leaders in 1875 and 1876.

Bimba gives a sketchy but colorful account of the more important of these trials, with quotations from the testimony. The main arts of the frame-up system seem to have been developed here. There were provocateurs. It is practically certain that the Pinkertons actually committed most of the crimes for which the miners were hanged. There was the newspaper campaign of lies: "The Name of Molly Maguire is enough to hang any one," boasted Gowen, the boss who appeared as the actual, legal, special prosecuting attorney in the most famous of the trials. There was the massing of militia and coal and iron police around the courthouse, to give a war atmosphere. There were appeals to patriotism: the special prosecutor Albright wore his general's uniform throughout the cases he prosecuted. There was the superstitious terror wielded by the church: Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia formally excommunicated all members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the Anthracite. There was no large militant labor movement outside the coal fields to come to the support of the "Mollies," and the official labor leaders denounced the victims of the coal companies or stabbed them in the back covertly, as the A. F. L. did later in the Haymarket case, and again in Mooney's case, and again in the Gastonia case.

Bimba tells the story of the trials with keen sarcasm; with scorn he shows the contradictory lies of the prosecution witnesses; he lays bare the basis of the prosecution with one neat quotation from the operator's newspaper, "The Miners Journal," on the day after the execution at Mauch Chunk.

"What did they do?" asks the mine owners' paper, celebrating the slaughter, and answers its own question: "Whenever prices of labor did not suit them they organized and proclaimed a strike."

And Bimba completes the case by quotations from Albright and Gowen. Gowen said, while demanding the death verdict in the trial of another

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"Molly," "Now all are safe in this country; come here with your money, come here with your enterprises. . . ."

General Albright said, urging the jury to hang still other miners: "It is almost inconceivable how this bad society (Molly Maguires) has injured you (the property owning jury!) and every property owner in the coal regions."

Why does Bimba waste so much time trying to prove there was no organization calling itself officially, "The Molly Maguires?' There is no organization known as the "Quakers," officially, but few know the Society of Friends by its official name; there is nothing in existence which officially calls itself the "Wobblies," but this is a common name. Perhaps such names were invented by enemies of the organizations so designated—capitalism does not now hate the Quakers, nor the Wobblies; capitalism would have hated the "Molly Maguires" as badly under any other name.

Though Bimba's book is rich and colorful, it is not a very coherent account, even of the trials. It gives the impression of having been a much longer book, drastically cut down to small size, and with many of the connecting links left out; whether this was what actually happened I do not know.

The facts in Bimba's main story of oppression and mine owners' revenge are well documented; I think we can believe them. But Bimba shows here, when dealing with minor matters of fact, the same aggravating inaccuracy that weakened his *History of the American Labor Movement.* For example, he mentions casually, by way of example, on Page 132 of The Molly Maguires: "For organizing and leading the lumberjacks in the Northwest and opposing the war, members of the then militant Industrial Workers of the World are in San Quentin prison today. They defended themselves and their headquarters against a murderous attack by the American Legion." Those who organized in the Northwest did not go to San Quentin. San Quentin is not in a Northwestern state. Those who opposed the war did not go to San Quentin, but to Leavenworth, only those Wobblies charged under laws passed after the war or who were framed for murder years before the war, went to San Quetin. Those who defended themselves against the American Legion attack did not go to San Quentin; they went to Walla Walla. And there are no I. W. W. prisoners in San Quentin today.

Five errors of fact in a space of 44 words! And this is supposed to be a book of history!

And then, a final criticism: the worker who buys this book will find much useful (and I think this part is accurate) information on conditions and the trials in the Anthracite. But he will not find a history of the Molly Maguires. There will be some editorial comment on that organization (or if you prefer, the Anthracite miner members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians) but the day to day struggle, the forms of organization, the tactics, the accomplishments of the Mollies, and the lessons we might today draw from their successes and their mistakes, these are not in this book. This must come from the still living members of that order, or from their immediate descendants. It is not in documents, and Bimba is too much inclined to rely on what other people wrote. He does not go to original sources. And this is the more to be regretted, because in a few years these original sources will be gone—the evidence of eye witnesses will die with the witnesses. The history of the Molly Maguires has not yet been written, it must be written soon, or this "forgotten chapter" will forever stay forgotten.

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